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Wisconsin Historical

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.

Secretary and Superintendent of the Society

V. 18

VOL. XVIII

The French Regime in Wisconsin—1743-1760
The British Regime in Wisconsin—1760-1800
The Mackinac Register of Marriages—1725-1821

MADISON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
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PIERRE-FRANÇOIS RIGAUD, MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL

From portrait in possession of M. le Comte Jacques de Clermont-Tenneres, Château de Brugny, Marne, France

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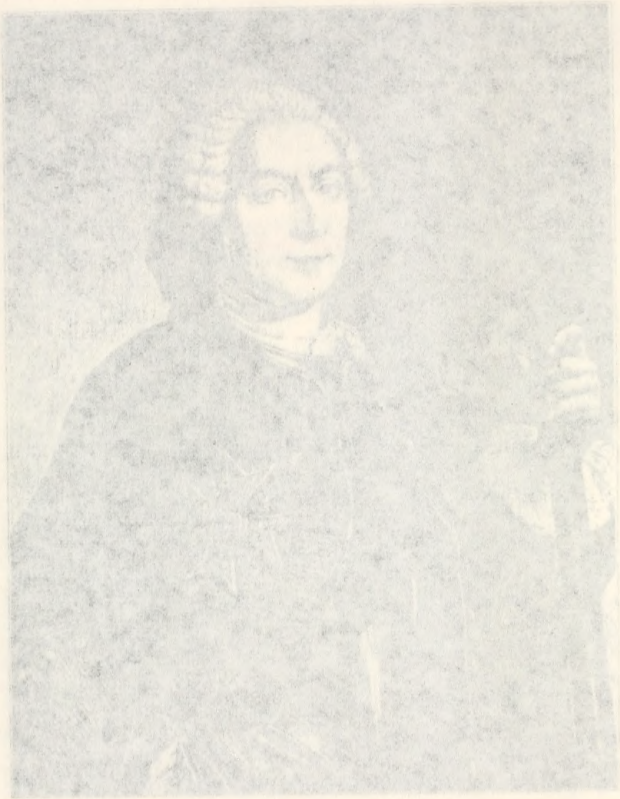

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Preface

In volume XVI of our series, we began the chronological presentation of contemporary documents concerning the French regime in the country of the upper Great Lakes, having special but not exclusive reference to events connected with Wisconsin. To have restricted our publication to material directly affecting the territory embraced in our present State, would have been quite impracticable. Wisconsin was then politically part of the broad geographical region extending from Detroit to St. Louis, by way of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, and the several portage routes connecting the two latter with the Mississippi River. What affected one portion of this vast "upper country" was apt to be of importance throughout its length and breadth. To study early Wisconsin apart from Michigan, northern Illinois, and those portions of Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri bordering on the Mississippi, is impossible. While necessarily including in our collection material bearing upon the history of other Commonwealths than our own, we have, however, sought to limit our selection to data concerning men and events that in some measure, at least, have influenced Wisconsin history.

Volume XVI ranged chronologically from 1634, the date of Nicolet's landfall, to 1727, when the Fox Wars were at their height. Volume XVII covered the years 1727 to 1748, a period of much interest, notable for French enterprise in exploration and the fur-trade, but giving signs of incipient decay in the political supremacy of New France, especially in Wisconsin, where the insurgent Foxes seriously interrupted communication between the widely-separated colonies of Canada and Louisiana.

The present volume concludes the presentation of documents concerning New France in the upper country, the range being

from 1743, when the Sioux were reported to have allied themselves with the Foxes, to 1760, when the old French post of Mackinac was evacuated by the conquered French. These papers are followed by documents illustrating the British regime in this region, between 1761 and 1800. The volume closes with the Mackinac register of marriages during the eventful century from 1725 to 1821.

During the half century and more between 1743 and 1800, the land now included in the Wisconsin of our day was under the dominion of three great nations—France, Great Britain, and the United States—and was bordered by the domain of a fourth, Spanish Louisiana. The period also embraces two great wars, waged to determine which sovereignty should here prevail. It involves three types of administration in the Northwest—the colonial paternalism of the French court, the negligent but avowedly military rule of the English officials, and the beginnings of American control. Nevertheless, throughout these several changes the small white communities located upon Wisconsin soil remained essentially French in habits, customs, language, and mode of thought; indeed, the British regime within our State might with some propriety be termed a continuation of that of the French. As for American influence, it was but slightly felt in Wisconsin before the coming of a United States garrison to Green Bay, in 1816; although established at Mackinac some twenty years before.

Commencing with 1761, however, the admixture of new elements wrought somewhat of a social change within the isolated little Wisconsin settlements—the coming and going of English officers and Scotch and Yankee traders, the intrigues of French and Spaniards to regain control or repel assault, the machinations for the favor of the Indian tribesmen, the rumors of wars, and dangers of invasion. All these contributed to ruffle the quiet of the French habitants, and in some measure to connect them with the life of the world beyond their wilderness hamlets.

At the close, as at the beginning of the period covered by our

volume, permanent settlements leave somewhat uncertain traces; indeed, there was little of permanence in the ways of these forest dwellers. Lacking commandant or priest, none of our primitive Wisconsin settlements has left a continuous record of its existence. After the French officials had retreated, English military forces occupied Wisconsin for less than two years; thereafter, governmental control, such as it was, was exercised from Mackinac. During this entire half century, no priest is known to have dwelt within the borders of our present State. After 1765, even parochial visits up the Great Lakes to Mackinac were few, with wide intervals between.

What white dwellers there were, within the boundaries of Wisconsin, were nearly all traders and voyageurs; the few who tilled the soil did so but to make provision for local consumption. Green Bay (the La Baye of New France) was the most stable of these settlements, and by the close of our period had spread along Fox River as far, probably, as Kaukauna, with an outlying post near Oshkosh. At Portage, lived a few French or half-breeds engaged in trade and in transporting canoes with their small cargoes from one stream to the other. At the mouth of the Wisconsin was held, as of old, a semi-annual concourse, or fair, that collected traders and voyageurs from all the Northwest streams, leaving between its times of meeting a small residuum of white population. Besides Green Bay, other villages were intermittently maintained—that of Chequamegon being apparently of less importance than it had been in earlier times; while the trading post of Milwaukee began to loom into a larger measure of consequence, especially during the years of the American Revolution.

These small communities had for neighbors the Illinois settlements on both sides of the Mississippi, and others at St. Josephs, Ouiatanon, Miami, and Vincennes. Orders and merchandise came from the two entrepôts of the region—Detroit at the south, Mackinac on the north. At the entrance of Lake Superior was established in 1750, near the site of a century-old French Jesuit mission, the military and agricultural post of

Sault Ste. Marie; while at the west end of the great lake was maintained a station for traders to the far Northwest, who in their wide journeyings intercepted the routes of adventurers from Hudson Bay. Isolated as they were, in the far interior of the North American continent, these small communities, and the savage tribes with whom they traded, were nevertheless drawn into the current of history by their connection with the colonial systems of the great world powers.

In the first two hundred pages of this volume, there is exemplified the final years of the administration of New France, with its corruption, exploitation, and ultimate neglect of this great Western empire. By the time the documents in this volume began, the Fox Wars were practically at an end, but their harvest of dissimulation and distrust among the tribesmen was still to be reaped. After the submission of the Sauk and Foxes, the arrangements made for the re-establishment of posts at La Baye and among the Sioux might have been valuable to the colony of New France had they been entrusted to the care of an able governor, such as Beauharnois, or of an honest intendant like Hocquart. Instead, La Galissonière's short but vigorous rule was succeeded by the avaricious regime of La Jonquière; and after three years of renovation under Marquis Du Quesne, by the weak administration of Vaudreuil. La Jonquière entered into a partnership with his officers to plunder the Wisconsin post, taking out of it a net profit of a hundred and fifty thousand livres per year. By his solicitations, the last French governor secured the lease of La Baye for his spendthrift brother, who was deeply involved in the fraudulent transactions marking the final years of French rule.

Meanwhile, beyond the borders of the present State but profoundly influencing her course of history, stirring events were taking place. English colonists and traders had secured a foothold in the great Ohio valley, and French officers were sent to dislodge them. Céloron's expedition of 1749 proved abortive. Three years later, however, a force of Indians from Mackinac and Green Bay, under the leadership of young Charles Lang-

lade, surprised and sacked the English fort at Pickawillany, and the fortunes of the intruding English traders began from that time to wane.

During the French and Indian War, the Western country was strongly loyal to the king of France; had it not been so stripped by the extortions of plundering officials, the West might have furnished more substantial aid than was at that time possible. In addition to spoliation, the upper country suffered much from neglect. At the outbreak of the war the higher officers were withdrawn, and the posts left to the care of subordinates of small repute. The dearth of reports after 1754, indicates the lack of interest at headquarters concerning the fate of the deserted district.

Each year of the great contest saw the gathering of barbaric warriors at Mackinac, who under French or half-breed officers, their well-trained and acknowledged leaders, were sent to participate in the campaigns of the Lake Champlain region, and in the final struggle on the Plains of Abraham. During the last five years of French administration in the upper country (1755–60), its most interesting and suggestive history is connected with these expeditions that sallied from the farthest Western wilderness to the theatre of war. Amid the train of Montcalm's assistants, one officer alone was properly impressed with the importance and possibilities of the great Western empire of New France. In Bougainville's memoir, we have a glimpse of what might have been its line of development, had Wolfe and not Montcalm been defeated before Quebec.

"Ill news travels fast." This proverb was never better exemplified than in the rapid message that overtook Lieutenant Charles Langlade, returning with his savage adherents from the siege of Montreal. Dismissed September 3, 1760, from the only citadel remaining in French hands, Langlade had been but five days on his journey when Vaudreuil was forced to surrender all Canada to Murray, and to order the evacuation or transfer to the British of all the upper posts. When or in what wise this last occurred at Mackinac, has not previously been

noted in our histories; but a document herein published shows that upon Langlade's arrival, sometime in October, the French commandant Beaujeu de Villemonde—brother of him who, five years earlier, fell victorious at Braddock's defeat—made a hasty decision to evacuate his post before the arrival of the British forces. Gathering up his effects and garrison at Mackinac, he retreated through Wisconsin, carrying off, in all probability, all that remained of the garrison and stores at La Baye. Unable to reach the Illinois before ice had encased the rivers, he wintered in the Indian town at the mouth of Rock River, where a few years later was born that redoubtable champion of Indian rights, the Sauk leader Black Hawk.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Charles Langlade, left in charge at Michilimackinac, maintained what order was possible during the year intervening between the departure of Beaujeu and the coming of the British under Captain Henry Balfour. But before England's troops came English traders—Albany men, for the most part, some of them descendants of the very same Dutch-Englishmen who had been captured on Lake Erie in 1687 by Graysolon Duluth. The journal of the elder Alexander Henry has long been a prime source for the beginnings of English rule in the Northwest; to this document should be added the journal of Lieutenant James Gorrell,[1] first and only British commandant at Green Bay, and now the documents published in the present volume. These latter, from originals in possession of the Society, correct in some wise Henry's account of the capture of Fort Mackinac in 1763, especially of the part taken therein by Charles Langlade. Additional light is also thrown on the immediate causes and effects of what took place in Wisconsin proper, and on the temper of the tribesmen within her borders. After Pontiac's conspiracy, English occupation at Mackinac was not renewed until the autumn of 1764. As for the abandoned fort on Fox River, it was not rebuilt until the coming of American troops, forty-two years later.

Thus was Wisconsin wholly given over to the trading class,

[1] In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i.

save that about this time the important family of the semi-military Langlades removed from Mackinac to the Green Bay settlement, exercising a salutary influence upon the growth and progress of that small village. Wisconsin was henceforth governed from Mackinac, a post becoming more and more cosmopolitan in character—a congery of traders of all nationalities, of broken-down adventurers and eager speculators from all the English colonies. Among these latter was Major Robert Rogers of the famous Ranger corps, who appears to have entered into some obscure intrigue to deliver the post to its former masters, and thus recoup his own waning fortunes. There is some reason to believe that one of his agents was the erstwhile famous traveller, Jonathan Carver, whose reliability, so long unchallenged, now stands openly in question.

That Carver visited Wisconsin, seems assured; but that he was treated like the "tenderfoot" on more recent American frontiers, and regaled with impossible tales, seems apparent from the journal of his successor in trans-Michigan exploration—the astute Yankee youth, Peter Pond. The latter's account, herein reproduced with all its original idiosyncracies of etymology and syntax, is an interesting and novel contribution to our knowledge of Wisconsin conditions under British control. We see in his pages the unadorned Indian, sunk in aboriginal filth and barbarism; the rivalry of the traders for his favor; their petty tricks, and their unprincipled competition. Wisconsin's broad rivers, fertile prairies, abounding forests, and natural resources, all awaiting the magic wand of civilization, are described by the naive Pond in many a graphic touch. We are introduced by him to the great mart at Prairie du Chien, to the lonely life in the wilderness, and come to understand and appreciate the risks and dangers incident to the prosecution of the fur-trade. But reports of English travellers are now not the only ones available for this period. The Spanish, who took possession of Upper Louisiana in 1768, herein add their quota of description of Wisconsin Indians, their village sites, their chieftains, and their forest trade.

Wisconsin has been considered remote from the scene of the American Revolution; but the documents concerning that contest, herein published, prove a participation more considerable than heretofore supposed. As a part of the British Province of Quebec, the dwellers within what is now Wisconsin were called upon during the early years of the war to assist in repelling American invasion from the gates of Montreal. At the outset of the Revolution, it was quite uncertain toward which contestant the French-Canadian inhabitants would lean. The question arose in Canada, whether French officers domiciled in that country could be trusted to take up arms against the revolting colonists. Wherever the sympathies of the uninformed and indifferent French-Canadian peasants might have placed them, nearly all the minor noblesse in Canada adhered to the constituted authorities, lending their swords to the support of the British cause. The former French officers felt more nearly akin to their English military brothers than to the backwoods colonists, whose aggressions and rivalries in the Indian trade had always been to them a source of annoyance and alarm. Moreover, a strong distrust of dwellers on the Atlantic slope had from the earliest times been implanted within the fighting class of New France. It therefore came to pass that Arent Schuyler de Peyster, a New York Loyalist colonel in command at Michilimackinac, readily secured the allegiance of the most influential French inhabitants near his post, as did Hamilton and Lernoult at Detroit.

Among those resident in Wisconsin during the Revolution, the Langlades were still the most influential; and the then head of the family, Charles, had served with valor in the old French and Indian War. He and his nephew Gautier de Verville were early commissioned to lead to Montreal a troop of Wisconsin savages and half-breeds to aid in repelling the American invasion of 1776. When, sixteen years before, he was leading back his native allies from the ineffectual defense of that same Montreal, how little could Langlade have imagined that he would again appear at the head of tribesmen as an ally

and defender of his late enemies the British! Upon this campaign and those of the two succeeding years, however, the Wisconsin auxiliaries saw little actual service, although their leader's skill and valor were highly commended by the British General Carleton. As for the haughty Burgoyne, he succeeded only in alienating the Western savages, who had indignantly abandoned his army before its disastrous defeat and surrender on the New York frontier.

During all this time, actual invasion or attack had seemed remote from the Wisconsin border; only upon the coming of some trader, or the return of grumbling warriors from Canadian campaigns, did echoes of the struggle reach the banks of the Fox and the Mississippi. But in the summer of 1778 all this was changed. While Langlade and Gautier were absent in Canada, where the anticipated attack did not occur, the Americans, led by their famous Long Knife colonel, George Rogers Clark, suddenly appeared in the Illinois, captured the British commandant, made friends with the French habitants, conciliated the Spanish officers in St. Louis, and secured the entire country for the revolutionists.

More than that, the American commander began to tamper with the Indian allies of the Mackinac commandant. At a great concourse held at Cahokia early in August, there were present large numbers of Wisconsin Indians. The Sauk and Foxes somewhat cautiously accepted the American alliance; the Milwaukee Potawatomi went over bodily to the Long Knife chief; the Winnebago wavered; only the Menominee and Sioux remained true to the British interest. At Mackinac, De Peyster was alarmed. Langlade and Gautier had scarce rested a day from their long journey from Montreal, when the British commandant ordered them out to counteract the new defection which was being led by French ex-officers such as Godefroy de Linctot, and by Father Gibault, the parish priest at Kaskaskia. Langlade and Gautier first made a tour of Lake Michigan, and then the latter set forth for the Mississippi, while Langlade wintered at Green Bay, after making arrangements to join the

Detroit commandant, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton, at Vincennes in the early spring.

But the enterprising Virginian was beforehand with his plans. Crossing overland in the late winter, he surprised his enemy at Vincennes, captured him and all his garrison, tomahawked some of the British Indians as a grim warning to the tribesmen, and put the entire Western country in a turmoil. Langlade and Gautier heard the appalling news while they were on their way to join the then captured Hamilton. Langlade had reached Milwaukee, whose Indians he found entirely loyal to the Americans, and prudently retired. Astounding rumors had meanwhile reached Mackinac: the Americans were reported to be building boats at Milwaukee, to come and attack the northern posts; all the efforts of Gautier could not detain the Menominee and Winnebago whom he had gathered.

By July, 1779, when Linctot set out from Cahokia for Ouiatanon, most of southern Wisconsin was favorable to the Americans. Could Clark have then moved up the Wabash, there seems little doubt that Detroit would have fallen into his hands, carrying with it Mackinac and its westward dependencies. But unsupported from Virginia or Kentucky, the great American was forced to remain inactive, and British prestige waxed once more among the tribesmen.

Early in 1780, therefore, the Mackinac commandant took the aggressive, and under orders from headquarters raised a large expedition for the capture of the Illinois. Langlade was to support it by a flank movement by way of Lake Michigan. In this he appears to have been foiled by the Americanized Potawatomi of Milwaukee and vicinity; while on their part the Sauk and Foxes played double, finally betraying the main expedition. As finally gathered at Prairie du Chien, this consisted of twelve hundred members—Chippewa, Sioux, Menominee, Winnebago, and a large French-Canadian contingent of voyageurs and coureurs des bois. The irregular column moved down to the lead-mines, where they captured several prisoners and a large boat-load of provisions ascending the Mississippi,

and appeared before St. Louis on May 26. Hastily constructed but effective fortifications at St. Louis, the unexpected presence of Clark at Cahokia, and the failure of support from the south, disarranged the programme. After considerable plundering in the vicinity of the settlements, and venting their disappointment on hapless captives, the marauders withdrew. They were pursued by a hastily organized American force, and harassed by Indians in the Spanish-American alliance. Thus the attitude of the southern Wisconsin Indians appears to have neutralized the danger threatening Spanish and American Illinois from the Indians of the northern and central portions of the present State.

The remaining two years of the war were occupied with sundry raids, any one of which would doubtless long ago have become famous had it occurred on the Atlantic coast, or had its facts been earlier available to historians. The records of these Western expeditions, however, have long lain buried in the British and Spanish archives, and the scanty American reports have but recently seen the light. Indeed, so little have they been known, that historians of repute once even called in question the existence of so noteworthy an event as the attack on St. Louis (1780), until documents were published that proved its part in a general project to conquer the Mississippi frontier for England.

The small British fort on St. Josephs River, that enters Lake Michigan near its southeastern extremity, was the object of several raids during the autumn and winter of 1780-81. When the French officer Mottin de la Balme made his hasty and ill-advised attempt upon Miami and Detroit, a force of Cahokians under local leaders captured St. Josephs, and made off with considerable spoil. Overtaken near South Chicago, a battle ensued in which the British allies were successful in recovering their booty and their captured traders. Smarting for revenge, the habitants of Cahokia appealed for assistance to the neighboring Spanish commandant at St. Louis. Seizing the opportunity, that official prepared an expedition that by a swift overland

march in the dead of winter again surprised Fort St. Josephs, the captors retiring with considerable prestige and plunder. This incident was later made the basis of a Spanish diplomatic claim to the overlordship of the Indians of the Ohio Valley. During these several operations the Milwaukee Indian village consistently supported French, Spanish, and American movements from the Illinois. From the first alliance with Clark in August, 1778, to the close of the war, the Milwaukee natives could be relied upon for the support of the Colonial cause, thus effectually blocking all attempts upon the Illinois from the vicinity of Mackinac.

Patrick Sinclair, who commanded for the British at the latter post, during the final years of the Revolution, had less confidence in his Anglo-French officers than had his predecessors. For the command of the important expedition against St. Louis, he commissioned a trader, Emanuel Hesse—apparently of Pennsylvania-German origin, formerly an officer in the Royal Americans—and left to Langlade and Gautier only the task of a flank movement by way of Illinois River, which was easily foiled by Clark's auxiliaries. The military fame of Langlade was so far spread, however, that for many years thereafter the Spanish attributed to his inception every danger that threatened their Upper Louisiana posts.

The peace of Paris by no means put an end to hostilities and alarms upon the Western border. Even when it was ascertained that the British post at Mackinac would not be given up to the Americans, and Calvé had been sent to carry word to the tribesmen on all the rivers and plains of Wisconsin that war had ceased, great uneasiness was manifested in this Northwest region, which was serving as a buffer between the three rival powers of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States. Political rivalry was equalled by rivalry in forest commerce. Scarcely had the echoes of the war died away, when a British fur-trade company built a post as far within American territory as central Illinois; and all the furs secured on Wisconsin soil passed to market through British hands. Not until John

Jacob Astor bought out the Mackinac Company (1808), did the Americans secure any share in the profitable trade of this region and its outlying dependencies.

The Spanish in Upper Louisiana viewed with much jealousy the absorption of the fur-trade by British merchants. Before the close of the American Revolution they had sent French officers in their employ north along the Mississippi River as far as Prairie du Chien, to secure the allegiance of the tribes and maintain their share of the commerce. As a result they secured to their interest the Sauk and Foxes, and a few of the Rock River Winnebago. The Menominee and Sioux, however, remained fixed in the British alliance. Whenever political affairs between the two crowns reached an acute point, there was much talk of invasion and attack, a hurried fortification of St. Louis, and a projected movement from Prairie du Chien, with all of which the name of Langlade was freely connected; but no actual warlike expedition occurred after 1782, and Spanish influence ceased with the cession (1804) of Louisiana to the United States.

The Indian war to the southeast of Wisconsin, however, caused much commotion in our district. The defection of Mackinac Indians after the attack upon Fort Recovery in 1794, gave Wayne fewer and milder foes to meet among the Fallen Timbers in his battle of the twentieth of August. Great was the confusion of the Northwest tribesmen at the continued victories of the Long Knife. When, two years later, their British Father withdrew his garrisons from Detroit and Mackinac, their surprise and indignation knew no bounds. His soldiers did not, however, retreat far. Those from Mackinac built a post upon St. Joseph's Island, in St. Mary's River, whither, after a perfunctory call on the American commandant at Mackinac, their savage allies easily found their way, seeking both for counsel and for rum. Thus Wisconsin, although nominally American after 1783, remained under British control until the result of the War of 1812–15 finally brought it within the actual sphere of American trade and government.

The documents presented in this volume have been secured from many sources. The earlier portion, illustrating the closing years of the French regime, is largely composed of transcripts obtained by us from the Colonial Archives in Paris, and Englished for our use. Added to these are selections from our own stores of manuscript material; and a few other documents have been translated from printed collections that are more or less difficult of access to the usual reader.

For the English period, we have reprinted from the Canadian archives many documents bearing on Wisconsin history; some of them, without annotation, however, have already appeared in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* These, with several from our own Draper and Wisconsin MSS., and the addition of certain traders' and Indian agents' journals, notably those of Sir William Johnson and Peter Pond, throw much new light on early Wisconsin history.

Particularly new are the Spanish sources. These documents were transported from New Orleans to Havana, Cuba, when the former city was surrendered to the Americans in 1803. After nearly a century of repose, they were again rudely disturbed by the advent of Americans, and, hastily bundled up, were carried to Spain in 1898, to rest in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville. Our transcripts thereof were secured through the kindly offices of Mr. Louis Houck, of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, who is soon to publish a documentary history of Upper Louisiana. He has most generously permitted us to select from his large collection such material as affects Wisconsin history during the period embraced in the present volume.

The Mackinac register of marriages, baptisms, and interments, extending from 1695 to 1821, is a document of much practical value in tracing the relationship and movements of individuals in the early Northwest, and in determining many other personal and historical facts. We have room in this volume for the marriage entries only; the baptisms and interments will appear in volume xix. The transcript thereof, we have obtained through the courtesy of the Hon. Edward O. Brown, of Chicago.

Several acknowledgments for suggestions and other valued aid in the collection and preparation of material for this volume, have been made in the foot-notes. These need not all be here repeated, but the Editor desires especially to emphasize the assistance received by him from Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, librarian of the Public Library at Ottawa, in regard to the operations of Peter Pond and other early Canadian explorers; from the publishers of the *Connecticut Magazine,* for permitting our republication of Pond's journal; from l'Abbé Amedée Gosselin, of Laval University, Quebec, for information concerning the Villiers family; from Mr. Arnold J. T. Van Laer, archivist of the New York State Library, for data relating to Robert Rogers; from the Chicago Historical Society, for transcripts from some of their manuscripts, and permission to publish the same herein; from the Massachusetts Historical Society, for a transcript of John Pattin's narrative; from the Virginia Historical Society, for furnishing, for illustration, a photograph of one of Céloron's buried plates; from Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, for various data and suggestions; and from Miss Deborah Beaumont Martin, historian and public librarian of Green Bay, for suggestions relative to Charles Langlade.

The bulk of the translations from the French were furnished by Colonel Crawford Lindsay of Quebec, doubtless our foremost expert in the interpretation of early French-Canadian terms. Translations from the Spanish have been rendered by Dr. James A. Robertson, of Madison, one of the editors of *The Philippine Islands.* In the work of editing, annotating, and indexing, the Editor has had most valuable assistance from Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, his editorial assistant on the Society's staff, who has also Englished many of the French documents. In the difficult task of transcribing, proof-reading, and seeing the volume through the press, Miss Annie A. Nunns, the Editor's secretary, has rendered important expert aid.

October, 1908. R. G. T.

The French Regime in Wisconsin—III

1743: SIOUX INSTIGATE REBELLION; NEWS FROM ILLINOIS

[Letter from the French minister[1] to Beauharnois, dated May 31, 1743. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 76, fol. 100."]

VERSAILLES, May 31, 1743.

MONSIEUR—The report you made me in 1741 respecting what had passed between the Scioux and Renard Savages[2] having led me to suspect that both would seek to join together, I wrote you in my despatch of April 20th of last year to neglect nothing to prevent so dangerous a union. Such suspicions are only too fully justified. In fact I see by a letter from Monsieur de Bienville,[3] dated February 4th last, that the Sieur de Bertet, major commanding at Illinois[4] has informed him that the voyageurs who had arrived from Canada the previous autumn had reported to him that the Scioux, not content with having broken the peace they themselves had gone to ask of you, had also induced the Renards to join them in a fresh attempt against the French, and that the Sakis not wishing to take part in this league had wholly separated themselves from the other tribes.

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[1] From 1723-49, the minister of the marine (which included the bureau of the colonies), was Jean Frédéric Phelypeaux, Comte de Maurepas.—ED.

[2] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 360-363.—ED.

[3] For a brief sketch of Bienville, see *Ibid.*, p. 180, note 1.—ED.

[4] For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 479. He was living in France as late as 1783.—ED.

Although this news may not be entirely well-founded, nevertheless the conduct of the Scioux, their turbulent character, and the spirit of revenge which there is reason to believe still animates the Renards against the French, require that you take the best measures to procure accurate information as to what is happening in connection with them, and to prevent the evil consequences of such a league, should one be formed. His Majesty can but rely on your zeal and prudence with regard to the precautions you may deem it advisable to take to attain that end.

You have been informed of the rumors of an understanding between the Illinois and the Chicachas, and of the movements it was alleged the former had made on that occasion at the post. From the report made by the Sieur de Bertet on the matter to Monsieur de Bienville, it appears that those rumors had no other foundation than some speeches made by a savage chief, to which the conduct of the Illinois had not given rise, and that nation, in order to remove the bad opinion that might be conceived of its fidelity, had made as a last resort an expedition against the Chicachas, which, in truth, was not very successful, because the enemy fled at the sight of the band that had been raised; so that they lost nothing but their horses and baggage on that occasion.

From the report sent me at the same time by Monsieur de Bienville with regard to the Chicashas, there is reason to believe that, exhausted by their continual losses,[5] they will at last decide to leave their lands and withdraw in the direction of Carolina. He even informed me that a portion of the na-

[5] The colony of Louisiana had been carrying on war against the Chickasaw tribe for several years, induced by the difficulties with the Natchez who had retreated among them. Sieur de Bienville had conducted two unsuccessful expeditions against the Chickasaw—that of 1736, in which a considerable contingent from the Illinois was captured; and that of 1739–40, which effected little. Meanwhile the rebellious tribe was being harassed by bands of other Indians from both Canada and Louisiana, who were urged on by French officers.—Ed.

tion had taken that route, and the remainder were kept back only by the chief of the nation[6] who had most contributed to engage them in the war they are obliged to sustain. In any case, it is expedient, as I have already told you in another despatch, that you should continue to induce the nations of Canada to undertake fresh expeditions against them, unless, on receipt of news from Monsieur de Vaudreuil,[7] it should be necessary to suspend these.

1744: NEGOTIATIONS WITH WESTERN TRIBES

[Letter from the French minister to Beauharnois, dated March 24, 1744. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 78, folio 20.]

VERSAILLES, March 24, 1744.

MONSIEUR—I have received your letters of the 18th of September and 13th of October last with the annexed documents.

When, in my despatch of May 31 of last year, I wrote you—in connection with the report made to me from Louisiana regarding the Scioux and Renard Savages—that it was necessary to take measures to prevent the evil consequences that might result from the league they were alleged to have formed, I did not mean to disapprove of what you had done with reference to those savages during their negotiations with you

[6] This chief was either the Red King or Pimataha, both of whom died in 1784. The latter's boyhood name was Nouholubbe (White Man Killer). He was noted as an especial enemy of the French, and caused the defeat of the Illinois expedition of 1736. The site of this disaster was in Pontotoc County, Miss. See Draper MSS., owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society, 10U109–118.—ED.

[7] Sieur de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, had in 1742 asked to be relieved from his office. His successor, Pierre François Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, arrived in New Orleans May 10, 1743. For a brief sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 31.—ED.

for the purpose of obtaining peace. In fact, there was nothing else to be done than to feign a belief in their assurances to you that they had changed. But, although, from the manner in which you write me that they have since behaved, one might deem their dispositions sincere, nevertheless it is advisable to continue to have them carefully watched, so that, by being informed of their movements, you may always be in a position to provide for whatever may be necessary. As the Renards and Sakis are partly re-assembled at the place indicated to them by the Sieur Marin,[8] it will not be difficult to watch their conduct; and His Majesty relies on your having taken all possible precautions for this.

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With regard to the Chaoüanons, it is necessary to wait and see the results of the promises they made you respecting their migration to the Prairie of the Mascoutins;[9] and, if they carry out such migration, the only thing will be to take measures to induce them to establish themselves there in such a permanent manner that there will no longer be any fear of a new move on their part. It will be no less necessary to forestall the effects of the solicitations which the English will not fail to make use of with that view; and this calls for special attention on your part.

In the last letters I have received from Monsieur de Vaudreuil, he informs me that the Chikachas had sent some of their chiefs to him to sue for peace; and as, in order to make such peace a lasting one, it was proposed to include in it the Cherakis, who for some years have been making incursions against the colony of Louisiana, Monsieur de Vaudreuil had communicated to you the dispositions it would be necessary to make for that purpose on the part of Canada; and you will no doubt have governed yourself by what he wrote you on the

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[8] For a sketch of this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 315. Some additional data is to be found in *Canada Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, x, pp. 25–30.—Ed.

[9] The Prairie of the Mascoutin was near the Ouiatanon fort. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, p. 208.—Ed.

subject, as I instructed you last year, either to have the Chicachas, Cherokis, and Teste Plates harassed, or to put a stop to the expeditions the Canadian nations seem disposed to renew against them.

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Monsieur Hocquart[10] has sent me the statement of the distribution of presents to the savages last year; and I notice with pleasure that it was much smaller than in previous years. I trust you will continue to devote your attention to reducing expenses of this kind as much as the welfare of the service will permit.

I will remember the Sieurs Marin with pleasure according to the testimony you may give me regarding them.

1745: CANADA AND LOUISIANA; COUREURS DES BOIS; POST OF LA BAYE

[Letter from the French minister to Beauharnois, dated April 28, 1745. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 81, folio 39.]

VERSAILLES, April 28, 1745.

MONSIEUR—I have received your letters of the 21st and 25th of October of last year.

As early as 1743, Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, wrote me that, in order to put a stop to the continual disorderly conduct of the Coureurs de bois in the Illinois country, and to the frequent desertions of soldiers from that post, it would be necessary to take special steps to make sure of those who go there to trade. With that in view and, at the same time, to increase the trade of the colony, he informed me that it would be advisable to establish small posts in the direction of the Missouri. By the last report he sent me on that subject, I understood that he had been obliged to

[10] Hocquart was the Canadian intendant; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 76, 498.—ED.

make some arrangements necessitated by fresh disorders on the part of the Coureurs de bois, in regard to which he had not time to ask you for orders; but that he would avail himself of the first opportunity to communicate his views to you, not only concerning the posts I have just mentioned, but also regarding the fixing of boundaries for the trade of both colonies, so that in future you may both unite in promoting its spread, and in maintaining good order in the respective posts.

This information will show you that there is but little foundation for the reports made to you of acts of trespass against your rights that have been imputed to him; and, in addition to the fact that I know his ideas regarding you sufficiently well to believe that he will do nothing whereof you can complain, I must also believe that he understands the necessity of subordination too well to allow of his doing anything that might subvert it. Nevertheless, as nothing is more expedient that to take steps to restrain the Coureurs de bois whose number increases yearly in the Illinois country, and to stop the desertion of soldiers from that post, and as it appears that the measures proposed by Monsieur de Vaudreuil may contribute thereto, His Majesty desires that, after considering them, you will communicate yours to him, so as to elaborate a plan together to which His Majesty may give his approval.

If the conduct of the farmers of la Baye is such as the Sieur de Lusignan[11] has reported to you, one can not but approve the decision you took to order that officer to send back to Montreal the man named Augé, the one of them against whom complaints were more especially made. And if it is true, likewise, that those farmers have supplied the Coureurs de bois with goods, and have failed in their duty to the commandant, His Majesty has no doubt but that, after verifying the facts, you have enforced against them the regulations enacted on this subject. But may it not have happened that

[11] This officer is noted in *Ibid.*, p. 259. In addition to the facts there given, it should be stated that he was in command at La Baye (Green Bay), 1743–46.—Ed.

such verification has shown you that special views on the part of the Sieur de Lusignan have compelled the farmers to seek expedients in order to derive a profit from their trade? You will be good enough to report to me on this matter, for I am not unaware of the fact, and have even not been able to avoid informing His Majesty, that most of the officers seek only to disgust the farmers in the hope, no doubt, that matters will be re-established on the same footing as formerly. But you will see by the King's memorial what His Majesty's sentiments are on the subject; and I am too familiar with your zeal not to be convinced that, on your part, you will take proper steps to prevent any one disobeying the orders He has given on the subject.

With regard to the Coureurs des bois who were found near the post of la Baye, it is greatly to be desired that they have been arrested and taken to the colony, and there punished in such manner as to restrain the others.

1747: PARTNERSHIP TO EXPLOIT LA BAYE[12]

[Translation from document in Chicago Historical Society MSS., O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 151.]

We, Lemoine Moniere and Jean Lechelle undersigned merchants of this city of montreal have ceded and by these presents do cede to Monsieur Louis Damour esquire Sieur de

[12] This document is a complement to that in *Ibid.*, pp. 451–455. In the latter the authorities at Montreal lease the post of La Baye to Moniere, Lechelle, and Clignancourt. In this paper, Moniere and Lechelle, who were a firm of Montreal merchants (*equippeurs*) engaged in fitting out parties for the fur-trade, lease the post of La Baye to a company formed by Clignancourt; with the exception of the latter, this corporation is composed of partners actively concerned in the fur-trade, having been at the upper posts for many years.—Ed.

Clignancourt, sieur jean Gareau dit saintonge,[13] Paul Leduc acting as well for himself as for sieur Etienne Augé, According to his power of attorney given Under his private seal with date of Aug. 2, 1746,[14] all associated on Equal terms, The Post of La Baye and its dependencies. This cession is made without any reserve in the same manner as this post is ceded to us, by Monsieur michel commissioner-ordinator[15] in this country or others, at the same price and for the same length of time as it Is accorded to us, and in accordance with the charges, obligations, and conditions into which we enter. These conditions shall go into effect at the same time that they are accepted (that is to say at the present), As they are herein expressed, The present Cession being made under the following conditions.

First. The said sieurs moniere and Lechelle oblige Themselves to provide to the said associates for The exploitation of the said post during the said time all the Merchandise, provisions, Canoes, money advanced for the wages of the employees, and all the other furnishings and necessary disbursements The Merchandise for the trading to be supplied at the price Current at Quebec, According to the invoices of the said Concessionaires, to which shall Be added a Profit of twenty-five percent above that of Quebec; at the same time the other furnishings which are not for Profit shall Follow the

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13 Jean Gareau was a member of the Sioux company formed in 1727. He was doubtless intending to exploit the trade of that tribe, and had probably spent many years in their country.—Ed.

14 Paul le Duc, born in 1706, belonged to a family who had for many years traded in the upper country; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, index. His only daughter, Elizabeth, married one of the Gareau family in 1759.

Etienne Augé was one of the partners who leased La Baye in 1744. He had been complained of by the commandant (see preceding document); his misconduct was the cause of his death. Shortly after giving this power of attorney, he was murdered by a Menominee Indian. See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 36.—Ed.

15 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 451, note 2.—Ed.

price Current of the other Outfitters of this city, and for cloths and Powder They shall pass at the same price Current.

Second. In Consideration of the preceding article the said associates shall not during the aforesaid time procure any merchandise, provisions, or any general furnishings whatever from any other merchants than the said sieur moniere and Lechelle; moreover they shall each year by the ordinary Convoys send a List of all that will Be necessary, and the latter Will consider themselves bound to serve them as well as they can possibly be Served according to The interests of the said associates.

Third. The Beaver, Peltry, and other Effects coming from the said post shall by the said associates be addressed to the said sieurs Moniere and Lechelle, and taken to their warehouse; These shall Be received by the said Outfitters In the presence of two persons known to The parties of the agreement, who Shall pass them at the price that shall be agreed upon each year by the Merchants of this city, and the said associates can dispose of The excess products only after The said sieurs moniere and Lechelle have Reimbursed themselves for the Sums that Are due them from the said Company.

Fourth. The said Sieurs Moniere & Lechelle Reserve to themselves the right, If they shall think best, after Their advances have been paid, according to the preceding article, of accepting at the general price that Is current each year in Quebec, all the excess peltries, On which they shall defray the charges of transportation to Quebec; or they shall be placed to the Account and to the credit of the said partnership, with interest at Six percent on the Sums that shall remain To them after the said advances have been paid.

Fifth. The said associates oblige themselves to send in the month of August next to the said Outfitters, the amount of disbursements and advances of money that they will need for the current year.

Sixth. The said associates Shall hold themselves Collectively and Individually obligated to The said Sieurs moniere

& Lechelle for all The Sums that are furnished them, for all the Goods that Are sent them, for the advances and wages that shall be paid for them to their employees. The provisions and other furnishings as well as The disbursements for The lease of the said post and other things not Specified in these presents —all These Sums shall Be allowed On the invoices and Accounts that they shall furnish each year Without the need of other acknowledgements.

Seventh. The said associates constitute by the present articles The said sieurs Moniere and Lechelle Their Agents general and Special for making all their Invoices, for Representing their persons either as bringing suit at law or defending the same, for watching all that can benefit Their partnership as well as undertaking to stop all that may be to Their disadvantage, by the Power to seek and Recover the Sums that may Be due them from all to whom they have made advances, for giving valid releases; giving Them full power for the things that can not be anticipated that require a further power, willing that these presents shall remain in force and be valid until the Revocation thereof, approving by these presents all that The said Sieurs Moniere & Lechelle shall do for the Good of the said interests of The said partnership. Thus having Agreed Together, the above said parties after the reading of the above have declared themselves content and satisfied and have both signed These presents, at montreal the fourth of april, one thousand seven hundred and forty seven.

CLIGNANCOURT
LECHELLES PAUL LEDUC
MONIERE PAUL LE DUC for ANGE.
JEAN GARREAU

1748: THE UPPER POSTS

[Letter of the French minister to La Galissonière,[16] dated Feb. 12, 1748. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 87, fol. 18."]

VERSAILLES, February 12, 1748.

MONSIEUR—I reply to the letters you wrote me on the 4th, 12th, and 22nd October of last year.

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It is greatly to be desired that the arrival at Detroit and at Michilimakinac of the Convoys sent to those two posts should have contributed to restore tranquility there. The goods transported there by them, and also what the nations have heard concerning the supplies the colony has received, must have enabled them to see the little foundation there was for the rumors carefully spread by the enemy regarding its alleged state of exhaustion. But the best way to restrain them would doubtless be to inflict a signal punishment on the Sauteux as being the most guilty, and His Majesty will approve the measures you may take with that purpose.

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1748: THE SHAWNEE

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonière, dated Feb. 23, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 31.]

VERSAILLES, February 23, 1748.

MONSIEUR—The Chaoüanon Savages, after residing a long while at Detroit, decided several years ago to leave that post and go and settle in the direction of the Belle Rivière; they were led to determine upon such removal by quarrels that had arisen between them and the other savages. Those quarrels are

[16] The new governor, for whom see *Ibid.*, p. 470.—ED.

now over; but those savages have always kept aloof from the post.

Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois carried on negotiations for a long time to get them to return; but, owing to the influence of the English, into whose hands their trade had passed, all such negotiations were unsuccessful, although, at various times, they held out hopes either that they would resume their former residence at Detroit, or would merely draw closer to it to come back under French domination, after completely separating from the English. But, about three years ago, and at the time when they seemed determined to follow the latter decision, and had even caused Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois to be informed of it, they decided to go to the Illinois. They accordingly asked Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, to have a fort built on the Oüabache river, where they offered to gather all together and to join the Kickapous and Mascoutins, nations that had long been attached to the French. At the time it seemed all the more advisable to favor such migration because the Chaouanons, who naturally love the French, are gentle in character and consequently easier to govern than all the others, and there was a risk of losing them forever by refusing their request.

But it is reported that since the war, they have been joined by a considerable number of savages of all nations, forming a sort of republic dominated by some Iroquois of the Five Nations who form part of it, and that, as the English almost entirely supply their needs, it is to be feared that they may succeed in seducing them. This would be all the more regrettable, since they might easily interrupt communication between Canada and Louisiana, and even occasion the loss of the greater part of the posts of both Colonies.

I am writing to Monsieur de Vaudreuil regarding that union, so that he may strive to break it if it be such as is represented; and His Majesty's wish is that, in such case, you should contribute to the work on your side. You will come to an understanding for the purpose with Monsieur de Vau-

MICHEL-ROLLAND BARIN, COMTE DE LA GALISSONIÈRE
From a copy, at Quebec, of original portrait in possession of the family in France

dreuil, who will communicate his views and operations to you, and to whom it is also advisable that you should communicate your views, in order that he may conform to them.

1748: CHEQUAMEGON POST

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonière and Hocquart, dated Feb. 23, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 28.]

VERSAILLES, February 23, 1748.

MESSIEURS—I have received your letters of the 2nd and 28th of October and the 7th of November last with the annexed documents.

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I will reply by a private letter to your representations in favor of the widows of Monsieur Deschaillons and Sieur Pèan. But His Majesty has not granted the request you also made to give the post of Chagouamigon for three years longer to the widow of the Sieur de la Ronde. You cannot be unaware of the fact that her husband enjoyed it for a fairly long while. It was also afterwards granted to his widow for three years more, and it would be making it perpetual in that family to leave it there longer, an objectionable feature that must be avoided at all the posts. Thus His Majesty wishes this one to be farmed out like the others to the person offering the best terms.

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonière and Hocquart, dated March 6, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 41½.]

VERSAILLES, March 6, 1748.

MESSIEURS—By one of my letters of the first of this month, you will see that your request that the enjoyment of the post of Chagouamigon be extended for three years more in favor of

Dame de La Ronde, has been refused. The King has, nevertheless, taken into consideration the unfortunate situation in which I informed him that Widow was placed, and His Majesty has been pleased to grant her for three years, counting from the present one, one third of the revenue that may be derived from the farming of that post for her account.

Monsieur Hocquart will be good enough to pay this to her. His Majesty, however, does not wish you to propose anything beyond it.

1748: THE ILLINOIS SHOULD REVERT TO CANADA

[Letter from the French minister to La Galissonière, dated April 25, 1748. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 51.][17]

VERSAILLES, April 25, 1748.

MONSIEUR—You are no doubt aware that the Illinois post was formerly an immediate dependency of the general government of Canada, and that it was only in 1717 that it was taken from it to be united to and incorporated with the particular government of Louisiana. The reasons for such change were that, in consequence of the desire then prevailing to favor the concessions of the company of the Occident, the addition of the Illinois country to the latter colony would be all the more advantageous to it that such country would supply fresh materials for its commerce, both through the trade with the Savages, and through the products of its cultivation. The working of the mines was also brought forward as an abundant source of wealth. And it was considered that there would be better opportunities of utilizing those advantages in Louisiana than in Canada.

But in the first place, the chief reason that then led to such

[17] A letter of similar import was sent under the same date to Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana. It is found in the same source as the preceding document, but under "Louisiana, folio 7."—ED.

decision no longer exists, since the King has taken over the colony of Louisiana, for it is indifferent to the King's service and to that of the State whether that colony or Canada benefits by the advantages the Illinois establishment can give; and the only question at issue is to know which of the two can derive the greatest benefit from it or is most in need thereof.

In the second place, if we consider the circumstances which must lead to the decision of this question, they all seem to be in favor of Canada.

In fact, the Illinois post can be considered only as a burdensome establishment for Louisiana. It is 400 leagues distant from New Orleans. It serves but to divide and consesequently to weaken the forces of that colony. It entails considerable expenditure on the King for the maintenance of the two companies in garrison there, owing to the difficulties of transport, and for the same reason causes the death of many soldiers. The greater portion of the proceeds of the fur-trade with the savages passes into Canada. And everybody knows that the hopes that had been raised with regard to the mines have vanished, since the whole thing is reduced to getting a little from those of lead.

By reuniting that post to Canada, Louisiana would, in the first place, gain the two companies of troops stationed there, which might be more usefully employed for the defense of the chief posts of that colony. The King would be spared the expense occasioned by that garrison there. It would be sufficient to send there from Canada a detachment of a few soldiers with an officer to be commandant, and the farmer of the trade of the post or the traders to whom licenses would be granted should be obliged to transport the necessary provisions for that detachment and other requisites, according to the practice for the remote posts of Canada. So that this post, far from being a burden upon the King, might, on the contrary, increase the revenues of that colony, which would be in a much better position than Louisiana to exploit that post, although it is farther from Montreal than from New Orleans,

owing to the people of Canada being accustomed to journeys of that kind.

It does not appear either that the removal of the two companies of troops forming the garrison can injuriously affect the safety of the post. Besides the fact that the French are there in sufficient number to have nothing to fear from the savages, it is probable that the latter will be better satisfied and quieter under the immediate command of an officer from Canada, because it is certain that they fear the French and savages of that country much more than those of Louisiana.

The separation of the post could not injure the defence of Louisiana. The habitants of the Illinois country could hardly be in a position to aid in it. And if an occasion arose, the officer of Canada in command there, would always be obliged to execute the orders that would be given him in the matter by the governor of Louisiana.

There is only the article of flour which the latter colony obtains from the Illinois, that can deserve attention. But could not that branch of trade, the only one from which it derived any benefit, continue to be carried on notwithstanding the reunion of that post to Canada? And could not the convoys that transport such flour go on doing it as usual?

It is true that the goods that would not fail to be sent there from Louisiana might give rise to difficulties in connection with the trade of that post. But could not arrangements be made to conciliate all such matters?

I beg you to weigh all these reasons and such others as may occur to you and consider whether it would in fact be advisable to unite the Illinois to Canada, or leave that post a dependency of Louisiana. In communicating your opinion on the subject to me, you will also please explain the new arrangements you think should be made in consequence of the decision you may propose. I am also writing on this matter to Monsieur de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Louisiana, and when I shall have received your answer and his, I will take the

King's orders on the subject and communicate them to both of you.[18]

1749: INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NEW GOVERNOR, THE MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIÈRE

[Extracts from the memoir of the king, dated at Versailles, April 30, 1749. Translated from La Jonquière, *Le Chef d'escadre, Marquis de La Jonquière* (Paris, n. d.), pp. 253-267.]

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Of all the parts of the administration confided to the sieur de La Jonquière,[19] that which demands the most exacting care on his part, is the government of the savages. He should be informed that Canada is inhabited by numerous tribes all the more difficult to restrain that their ordinary character is one of levity and inconstancy. Among these nations some are established in the neighborhood of the three towns of the Colony; others are domiciled in the posts of the upper country and Acadia; and the rest are scattered over the country.

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[18] See the responses of the governors of Louisiana and Canada in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 493-498, 512-518.—Ed.

[19] Pierre Jacques de Taffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière, was an efficient naval officer, having participated in twenty-nine cruises and nine naval battles, in which he was thrice wounded. Born at Paris in 1685, he entered the navy at the age of twelve, rising by successive grades until becoming admiral in 1746. He twice (1733, 1738) visited Quebec in command of a man-of-war, and in 1746 was chosen governor-general of Canada to succeed Beauharnois. Having been captured by the English on the way to his post of office, La Galissonière served in his stead (1747-49). Having been released from captivity by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), La Jonquière proceeded to Canada in 1749, where he governed efficiently for two years and a half, dying in Quebec March 17, 1752, and being buried in the church of the Recollects. La Jonquière was noted for his avaricious disposition, and exploited the posts of the upper country for his own advantage and that of his satellites.—Ed.

The villages established in the environs of the towns are five in number: that of Lorette composed of Hurons near to Quebec;[20] those of Becancour and Saint-Francis composed of Abenakis, near to Trois Rivières;[21] that of sault Saint-Louis composed of Iroquois;[22] and that of the Lake of two mountains composed of Iroquois, Algonkins, and Nippissingues in the environs of Montreal.[23] There is also a sixth whose establishment has been begun at Missikoui at the entrance of lake Champlain, which is to be composed of Abenakis and Loups.[24] The savages of these different villages have been instructed in the christian religion; and they have resident missionaries to give them spiritual succor.

It is the Jesuits who serve all these missions with the exception of that of the Lake of the two mountains which is served by the priests of the seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

His Majesty has cause to be satisfied with the conduct of these savages in general, as well as that of the missionaries, but the one that on all occasions until the present has showed the most zeal is that of the Lake of the two mountains.

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Of all the tribes domiciled in the posts of the upper country there are only the Hurons of Detroit who have embraced the

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[20] For this mission village see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 174.—Ed.

[21] For the original home of the Abenaki see *Ibid.*, p. 192. The early Canadian mission villages of this tribe were destroyed by the Iroquois (1689–97). About 1700 the scattered remnants of these Christian Indians were gathered in two villages, one at the mouth of Beçancour River, the other at St. François du Lac, in Yamaska County, Quebec. Both still exist.—Ed.

[22] The Indian mission of Sault Ste. Louis was established (1669) at La Prairie de la Madeleine, and seven years later removed to its present site, on the St. Lawrence. For a description of this mission, usually known as Caughnawaga, see "A. Michaux's Travels" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904–06), ii, 37–40.—Ed.

[23] This was a Sulpician mission, founded in 1677. Raided during Frontenac's War (1691), it was finally removed (1720) to the Ottawa River, where the village called Oka still exists.—Ed.

[24] This mission was broken up by the French and Indian War.—Ed.

christian religion; and their mission is under the care of the Jesuits. These savages during the war took part in some movements which have obliged us to take measures to restrain them.[25] The sieur marquis de La Jonquière will be informed on his arrival of what has occurred and will take the measures that the circumstances may demand to bring them under the proper discipline. The most of the tribes have the custom of sending in the spring of each year several deputies to Montreal to receive there the presents of ammunition and merchandise which are destined for them and whose distribution is regulated by the Governor lieutenant general, who proceeds in the month of May to that town in order to attend to this distribution and to the arrangement of the matters which concern the tribes. It is in the councils which the marquis de La Jonquière is obliged to hold with their chiefs that he can effectively work to inspire in them proper dispositions, and break up the intrigues that the English only too often put in practice to attach these savages to themselves. But the surest means of accomplishing this is to place in command of the posts only those officers who, by their talents and knowledge can bring this to pass.

1749: POLICY TOWARD INDIANS

[Letter from the French minister[26] to La Jonquière, dated May 4, 1749. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 89, folio 66."]

MARLY, May 4, 1749.

MONSIEUR—I reply to the letters of Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonière of September 24, October 23, and November 8 last, respecting the Savages.

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[25] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 458–511.—ED.

[26] The minister of the marine had charge of the colonies. The incumbent at the date of this letter was Antoine Louis Rouillé, Comte de Joüy, who held the office from April 30, 1749 to July 28, 1754. He was

In the first of such letters he reported what related to the Chaoüanons; and stated that the lack of goods and the antipathy of most of the other nations to them, had decided them to separate into two bands, one of which has established itself at Sonontio,[27] where it forms a sort of republic with a fairly large number of bad characters of various nations who have retired thither, while the other went in the direction of the Cherakis.

By the letters of Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of Louisiana, we have learned that the latter band, after ascending a part of the river of the Cherakis, decided to go and join the Alibamons,[28] where it appeared to have behaved well; and, as that Governor adds that the quarrel it had had with the Ilinois was ended, there is a reason to believe there is nothing to fear from it.

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born in 1689 of a magisterial family, and in 1744 was created councillor of state. After his services in the marine, he became minister of foreign affairs (1745-57) and died in 1761.—Ed.

[27] This was the village at the mouth of the Scioto (Sonontio, St. Yotoc) River, which in the Huron language signified a deer. This village, usually known as the Lower Shawnee Town, was built about 1747, being occupied for eleven years. Upon the visit of Christopher Gist and George Croghan (1751), about three hundred warriors were gathered there in two divisions—the smaller on the south side of the Ohio, the larger containing the council house on the north side, west of the Scioto. See William M. Darlington, *Gist's Journals* (Pittsburgh, 1893), p. 44. Two years later this village was inundated by an Ohio flood. During the French and Indian War, many English captives were brought thither, among them (1755) Mrs. Mary Ingles of Virginia. Upon the capture of Fort Duquesne (1758) the town was abandoned, its inhabitants retreating up the Scioto to the neighborhood of Chillicothe. Traces of the Indian occupation were visible for many years thereafter.—Ed.

[28] The Alibamon (Alabama, Alibamu) Indians belong to the Muskhogean stock, with the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, etc. Their original home appears to have been on the Yazoo. At the time the French came to Louisiana this tribe was upon the river that bears its name, and the nearest portion of the Creek confederacy to the Mobile settlement. In 1702, 1704, and 1708, there were expeditions against them; while in 1714 a fort was built in their territory, christened Fort Tou-

It is not quite the same with the band that has gone to Sonontio. In fact, there is reason to fear that the bad example of the savages who have joined it, and of whom the Governor of New York made use during the war to stir up the nations and cause them to undertake expeditions against the French, will lead that band to do something evil; and, for that reason, it is greatly to be desired that it be reunited to the remainder of the nation, either in Canada or in Louisiana. It is expedient that you should concert with Monsieur de Vaudreuil respecting such negotiations. That nation would be one of the most useful to us through its valor and docility. But in order to bring it back, it must be placed in a position to have its needs supplied, and to be protected from the other nations that might wish to disturb it. Such an arrangement calls for the most particular care on your part.

With regard to the sort of republic formed at Sonontio, if you succeed in inducing the Chaoüanons to leave, it will be weakened to such an extent that it need no longer be feared. In any case, the King greatly approved the step taken by Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonière who wrote to the Governor of New York[29] that if he continued to use the savages composing it to carry on incursions against the French, he would

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louse, but usually known as "Aux Alibamons." This post was maintained throughout the French period; and under its influence the Alibamon became docile Indian allies. Fort Toulouse was situated on the Coosa, near its junction with the Tallapoosa. A few Alibamon are still extant in Louisiana, Texas, and near a town of their name in Indian Territory.—Ed.

[29] At this time George Clinton was governor of the province of New York. The younger son of the Earl of Lincoln, he entered the navy, where, in 1716, he was made captain. In 1732 he was governor of Newfoundland, and five years later commodore of the Mediterranean fleet. His appointment to the governorship of New York dated from 1741. Entering upon his office in 1743, he remained therein ten years, during which term he was promoted in naval grade, becoming admiral in 1747. After his retirement to England (1753) he was governor of Greenwich and member of Parliament, dying July 10, 1761.—Ed.

take revenge for it against his colony, and there is reason to believe this will restrain him.

By his letter of October 23, Monsieur de La Galissonière reported on the conduct of the majority of the nations of the upper country, who, at the instigation of the English, had murdered several Frenchmen, and also that he had decided to send strong detachments to Detroit and to Michilimakinac with the convoys prepared for the different posts.[30] His Majesty was much pleased to hear of the good effect produced by the presence of those detachments. On the other hand, he was very well satisfied with the good conduct of the Sieur de St. Pierre,[31] captain commanding at Michilimackinac, who, by his firmness, succeeded in compelling the Nations in his command to give up the murderers of the French, and in getting all those nations to beg for pardon. The Sieur Chevalier de Longüeil[32] seems also to have behaved equally well at Detroit. It is unfortunate, however, that those murderers should have succeeded in escaping. Their punishment would have afforded an example calculated to restrain all the Savages; and you will no doubt see, from the information you will obtain regarding what has taken place, how necessary it is to make examples so

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30 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 505-512.—Ed.

31 For a sketch of this officer see *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 166.—Ed.

32 This was Paul Joseph le Moyne, fourth Baron de Longueuil, for whom see *Ibid.*, p. 432. It is there erroneously stated that he was second Baron de Longueuil. He who held that title was his elder brother Charles; on the latter's decease, he was succeeded by his son Charles Jacques, who was killed in 1755, whereupon his uncle Paul Joseph claimed the title. The latter was born in 1701, being married in 1728. His first command at Detroit was from 1743-48 From 1756-58 he was king's lieutenant at Quebec, whence he was promoted to the governorship of Trois Rivières. Upon the capitulation of New France to the English, Governor le Moyne de Longueuil retired to France and died at Tours in 1778. His right to the title of "Baron de Longueuil" was successfully contested by the posthumous daughter of the third baron, who later married David Alexander Grant of the English army. Descendants of this line still bear the title, which was confirmed (1881) in their behalf by the English crown.—Ed.

as to make sure of those whose dispositions are bad or wavering. As a rule, you will find the officers disposed to put an end to quarrels with the savages by means of conciliation; but it is certain, and experience has at all times proved it, that they can be restrained only by well-advised examples of severity, and you must not neglect any opportunity of making them.

Finally, by his letter of November 8, Monsieur de La Galissonière reports the arrival of the Iroquois nations at Quebec, with the exception of the Anniés,[33] who had sided with the English, in the first years of the war. His Majesty could not but approve of the conduct of Monsieur de La Galissonière towards those Savages. You will learn that, in their conferences, the question of the pretension of the English to authority over them and their lands was discussed. The English consider these lands as forming part of their possessions, and the Iroquois as subjects of Great Britain. Those savages claim to be and in fact are independent of all nations, and their lands incontestably belong to them. They have at all times rebelled against the claim of the English. Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonière seems to have decided them to insist upon their rights; and there is reason to believe they will do this all the more eagerly, because information had already been received that, a short time previously, they had treated the English of Orange and Costak[34] with the greatest contempt. As those Savages were still at Quebec when the last ships sailed, you will be informed of whatever else has happened in connection with them. There is a probability of your seeing them yourself this year. You are already informed of their views which are to maintain neutrality which they have long made the basis of their policy; but if, on account of what may have occurred between them and the English, they could be induced

[33] The French appellation for the tribe known to the English as Mohawk.—Ed.

[34] The term "Orange" was frequently employed for the town of Albany. "Costak" is apparently a misspelling for New York.—Ed.

to destroy the post of Choüeguen[35] standing on their lands, it would be obtaining from them a service most useful in every respect.

As to the Anniez, they have never ventured on an incursion against the French since the attack made on them in 1747[36] by the Sieur Chevalier de Lacorne.[37] Their brothers had craved for their pardon; and it seems that Monsieur de La Galissonière granted it. In any case, you will be guided by circumstances both with regard to those savages and to all others. His Majesty can but rely on your prudence as to this essential part of your administration, but he wishes you to avoid,

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[35] Choueguen was the French name of the post at Oswego, in the present state of New York. As early as 1724 the Iroquois had permitted English traders from Albany to build a trading-house at this site. The importance of the post induced Governor Burnet, in the winter of 1726–27, to build a military work for its protection. The French vainly protested against its occupation. After Sir William Johnson in 1743 had erected his trading-house beneath its walls, it seriously damaged the French fur-trade. The post was finally captured in 1756 by the French under Montcalm. Two years later, however, they were obliged to evacuate it. After the French and Indian War, Oswego was re-garrisoned and repaired, and during the American Revolution was the headquarters for Loyalists and their Indian allies. This post was not surrendered to the United States until after Jay's Treaty (1794). It was then demolished, and the present city grew upon its site. Relics of the old fort were visible as late as 1839.—Ed.

[36] For a documentary account of the affair, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 81–83. The Mohawk were led in this campaign by King Hendrick. They raided near to Montreal, but were overtaken and defeated by La Corne.—Ed.

[37] Chevalier de la Corne was a famous French officer, son of Jean Louis, and younger brother of Louis, the commandant at Mackinac. La Corne de St. Luc was also a member of the same family. Pierre Chevalier de la Corne was connected with the Niagara post in 1720 and again in 1727. It was there that he learned the Iroquois language, which made him so capable a commander in the prolonged disturbances on the border. During King George's War (1744–48) he won distinction. Early in February, 1747, he led a detachment that achieved a brilliant victory near Mines in Nova Scotia. In June of the same year, he repulsed the Iroquois from Montreal, and the following year acted

as much as possible all altercations that might result in unpleasant consequences, and occasion expenses which are always heavy in such cases.

1749: LICENSE SYSTEM RESTORED

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot,[38] dated May 4, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 72.]

MARLY, May 4, 1749.

MESSIEURS—The arrangements that were made, some years ago, for the exploitation of the posts of the upper country having been frustrated in some places and upset in others in consequence of the war and of the movements of the savages, it became necessary to replace matters on a proper footing.

In a letter of October 23 last,[39] Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonièr proposed that the posts of Themiskamingue, Nepigon, Camanistigouya, Michipicoton, and la pointe of Chagouamigon alone be farmed out,[40] and that all the others be exploited by means of licenses.

He represented that the bad conduct of the farmers at the latter posts, and the high prices at which they were obliged to

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as witness to their treaty. He received the cross of St. Louis (1749) for his services. In 1750, he was again in Acadia; and during the French and Indian War was constantly employed with large detachments of militia and Indians. In 1758, he reinforced Ticonderoga, and the same year was defeated and wounded near Oswego. During the siege of Quebec (1759), La Corne commanded the rapids of the St. Lawrence in the rear of the army, and was slightly wounded at Sillery in April, 1760. Having embarked to return to France on the ill-fated "Auguste" (1761), he was wrecked off the coast of Cape Breton, perishing in the waves. His brother St. Luc was one of the six who survived this catastrophe.—ED.

[38] For this officer consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 499.—ED.

[39] For this letter see *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 504.—ED.

[40] Concerning these posts see *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 246, 247; also *Id.*, xiii, pp. 397–440 (in Thwaites, "Story of Chequamegon").—ED.

sell their goods to the savages, owing to that of their leases, have so disgusted the savages that there is reason to fear they will carry their trade entirely to the English, unless a remedy be applied; that the system of licenses is the only one that can be adopted,[41] because competition between the traders will lead to their selling cheaper, and the savages will be able to more easily supply their needs; that, as the savages who frequent the posts he proposes to farm out, have not yet complained of the farmers and, moreover, cannot so easily go to the English, the farming out may, in their case, be continued without any drawback.

The King, to whom I submitted this arrangement, was pleased to approve of it; and His Majesty therefore consents that the posts of Thémiscamingue, Nepigon, Camanistigouya, Michipicoton, and la pointe Chagoüamigon alone shall be farmed out, and that the others shall be operated by means of licenses. But His Majesty has imposed two conditions on such arrangement. The first is that no officer is to exploit any such post, and that they who go to command at them shall enjoy only the allowances which you will regulate according to their rank and to the expense they will be called upon to incur from the nature of the posts. The second is, that out of the proceeds of the licenses and farming out, Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière shall take only 10,000 livres for the aid which His Majesty is pleased to continue to grant to the poor families of the colony. The balance shall be paid into the treasury;

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[41] The licenses (*congés*) were originally established as a gratuity to the families of poor officers or gentlemen—furnishing a kind of pension. Abolished in 1696, they were re-established (1716) by a decree of the council of the marine in France. The order reads: "These permissions will be given to the poor families that the governor shall judge are most needy; they shall be countersigned by the intendant; moreover, if he shall find that the families to whom they are accorded are by their great misery not in position to make use of them themselves, those to whom they are assigned may sell them to the voyageurs of the country"—*Documents Historiques, Correspondence* (Quebec, 1893), i, pp. 116, 117; see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 100, 175, 388, 391.—Ed.

and you will be careful to account to me every year for the proceeds of the licenses and leases.

1749: DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT AND MACKINAC

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot, dated May 14, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 76.]

MARLY, May 14, 1749.

MESSIEURS—Detroit has at all times been considered an important post; and it is so in fact, not only on account of its position with regard to the savage nations whom it enables us to restrain, but also because it is an obstacle to the encroachments of the English, and furnishes supplies to the voyageurs of all the other Southern posts. It is also one of the most advantageous for the fur-trade.

Hitherto attention has been devoted to the various arrangements proposed, for the purpose of peopling that post with inhabitants capable of cultivating the soil and of making it secure from attack by the savages; But hitherto. also, it has come to pass that most of those in whose favor such arrangements have been made, have applied themselves solely to the fur-trade and have abandoned the post as soon as they were prevented from so doing. It has been considered that an effective means of remedying that evil would be the appointment of a sedentary commandant who, being interested in everything that could contribute to the growth of the post, would occupy himself only with what would be conducive thereto. Messieurs de Beauharnois and Hocquart had deemed such an arrangement most suitable; but they thought its execution should be deferred until peace was declared. And, as Monsieur the Comte de La Galissoniere, to whom it was communicated, also thought it should be carried out, His Majesty has decided to approve it. At the same time he has selected the Sieur de

Celoron captain[42] for that command, and has given him the rank of major with the same prerogatives as the commandant of the Illinois post. As such his pay will be 1200 livres besides the usual allowance of 3000 livres to be taken from the proceeds of the licenses issued for the exploitation of that post.

Monsieur the Comte de La Galissoniere had also proposed that that commandant be given authority over the posts of the Miamis, of the river Blanche and of the Ouyatanons or nations of the Oüabache,[43] His Majesty has approved that suggestion, and Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere may send them the necessary orders accordingly. I enclose his commission as major.

You will make that officer understand how flattered he should be at such a mark of confidence and also the continual attention he should devote to making himself worthy of it. His first aim must be to maintain the nations of the continent in proper dispositions; and, as the surest way to do this is to strengthen the post with permanent residents, he must neglect nothing that can contribute towards getting the greatest possible number. His Majesty desires that you, on your part, should give your concurrence in the matter. If there be any special arrangements to be made to induce habitants to go and take up farms at that post, you may propose them; and Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere will, moreover, confer with

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[42] For a brief sketch of Pierre Joseph Céloron see *Ibid.*, p. 207. The date of his death is there erroneously given; he died of wounds received in 1759. See *Canadian Archives*, 1905, i, p. 306; and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, p. 333. The Sieur de Céloron who retired to France and died there after 1778, was probably his son.—Ed.

[43] For these posts see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 131. The "post of the river Blanche" has been identified by us (*Ibid.*, p. 501) with Vincennes. We are now disposed, however, in view of later information, to change our opinion. There seems to have been a post about 1745-47 in the Iroquois-Miami village, on the Little Miami, about nine miles above the Ohio. See *Canadian Archives*, 1905, p. 42; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 458, 474, 475.—Ed.

Monsieur Bigot regarding the instructions to be given the Sieur de Celoron for his conduct in all respects.

Monsieur the Comte de La Galissonière also thought it would be advisable to appoint a sedentary commandant at Michilimakinac, who would have authority over all the Northern posts; but he stated at the same time that the difficulty of getting provisions there made it necessary to defer such appointment to another time. You will inquire into what should be done in that respect and I will await your report.

1749: POSTS OF THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Sept. 28, 1749. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Correspondence générale, C 11, vol. 93, folio 19."]

MONSEIGNEUR—We have seen, by the Letter you did us the honor of Writing us on May 4 last regarding the Exploitation of the posts of the Upper country, that the King had approved of those posts being exploited in future by licenses with the exception of those of Themiskamingue, Nepigon. Camanistiguouya, Michipicoton and la pointe Chagouamigon, on the condition that the Exploitation of no post shall be given to the officers.

This measure, Monseigneur, is the best way of maintaining abundance and low prices and thereby preventing the savage from taking his furs to the English. We shall comply with these orders And Monsieur de Lajonquiere will take from the proceeds of the Licenses and leases 10,000 livres only for the amount his Majesty is pleased to continue to have distributed amongst the poor families of the Colony, and will put the surplus in the Treasury. But he will not be in position for some time to follow out this arrangement, as he must first pay what he owes out of the proceeds.

We have the honor to Be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

LAIONQUIERE,
BIGOT.

QUEBEC, September 28, 1749.

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Oct. 5, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 31.]

MONSEIGNEUR—We reply to the Letter you did us The honor of Writing to us on May 23 Regarding the post of Detroit.[44]

This post has with much reason at all times been considered very interesting and important, not only from its position with reference to the savage Nations it controls, but Also as a barrier to the Encroachment of the English and because of the provisions it can supply to the Voyageurs of the Southern posts; moreover it Is very advantageous for the fur Trade.

All these Considerations Led Messieurs de La Galissoniere and Bigot to take upon Themselves to Send to that post as early as last spring as many families as they could get, to whom they promised a provision of flour for two years with all the necessary implements for clearing and hoeing the soil. This number is not as large as they would have wished, only 46 persons having gone there, including men, women and Children. It Was Necessary, Monseigneur, not to lose a year while waiting for your answer as we Were convinced It would be in Accordance with your ideas, And next spring we will Send up others of we can get them.[45]

It Is Necessary to populate Detroit. If we could have a strong militia there with some regular troops the savage Na-

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[44] See *ante*, letter of May 14 (not May 23).—ED.

[45] By 1750, the population of Detroit had increased by fifty-seven, making a total of four hundred and eighty-three colonists. Ten grants of that year still exist. See Bela Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half-Century* (New York, 1887), p. 116.—ED.

tions would never dare to make disturbances. And to succeed in this and have Proper discipline in that country, it was necessary to send families there and to Establish a resident Commandant, As has just Been done In favor of Monsieur de Celoron. He will Keep them in hand and make them settle on the land he will give them to clear in consideration of the aid they receive from the King. That officer cannot go there before next spring as he Has not Yet returned from la belle riviere whither he was Sent by Monsieur de La Galissoniere.[46]

Monsieur de La jonquiere will not forget to make him feel How greatly he should Be flattered by such a proof of Confidence in him, and impress upon him the attention he must devote to increase the population of that post and make the inhabitants sedentary. As regards ourselves, we can Induce only the habitants of the government of Montreal to go there by giving them the same advantages as were given the others last spring. Those of the other governments will not emigrate.

Messieurs de la Galissoniere and Bigot had arranged that the houses should Be built In Villages only, with half a League between so that the habitants may be stronger at Home and have less Fear of the savage. We even Sent Our ordinance to that effect. But Monsieur The Chevalier de Longueuil who Commanded there and who has recently returned has assured us that nobody would build on those Conditions, each One wishing to take a Concession where he can find good Soil, or an advantageous situation according to his own ideas; and that if they were hindered in this regard, Detroit would not be Settled.

We are obliged to rely on the reports of those who have lived in that country, but we will decide nothing on the subject until Monsieur de Celoron is able to look into the matter himself and Report on it to us.

Monsieur de Lajonquiere will Arrange with Monsieur Bigot the instructions to be given that officer.

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[46] See his journal of that expedition, *post*.—Ed.

Father La Richardie, Missionary of the hurons at the said post,[47] has asked as urgently as possible for help in restoring his mission that Was destroyed by the rebellious savages;[48] Messieurs de La Galissoniere and Bigot considered such restoration necessary, and The latter gave the said Missionary the 5000 livres he asked. We know that the repairs of this Mission are well advanced. One can get even the slightest amount of work done in that country only by dint of cash payments; the workmen being unwilling to Be paid in Montreal.

It would Be very desirable that habitants should be Settled at Michilimakinac with a resident Commandant to keep them there, and increase the population of the country, who would have authority over all the Northern posts; but the poor quality of the soil of that country does not permit of it.

We have The honor to Be, with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants,

LAIONQUIERE,
BIGOT.

QUEBEC, October 5, 1749.

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[47] For a brief sketch of this missionary see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 102, and index.—ED.

[48] The mission for the Detroit Huron (Eng., Wyandot) was established in 1728 on the east shore of the river at a site known as La Pointe de Montreal, now within the limits of Sandwich, Ontario. The establishment consisted of a church, mission house, store, and farm. During the rebellion of 1747, the buildings were considerably damaged, and the removal of the mission was contemplated. Father la Richardie, however, returned in 1748, and superintended the repairs here authorized. See his accounts in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), lxx; all citations in the present volume are from this edition. The church stood until the middle of the nineteenth century; part of the mission house is still occupied. Hubbard, *Memorials*, p. 134.—ED.

1749: ARRANGEMENTS FOR LA BAYE, AND A POST AMONG THE SIOUX; FORT AT TORONTO

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 42.]

QUEBEC, October 9, 1749.

MONSEIGNEUR—Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere told us, previous to his departure, that he had promised the savage nations in the Neighborhood of the post of la Baye des puants, that the said post should not be farmed out any longer and that it should be exploited by means of licenses. He gave this promise upon those savages representing to him that the farmers of the said post took advantage of their needs, and made them pay very dear for the goods they required, and, as we learned that this compelled them to carry their furs to the English who do everything in their power to induce them to do so, we deemed it our duty to carry out that promise.

The Sieur Marin, the elder, told us that the Sioux had urgently asked him that a post be established in their country. He observed to us that those Savages are very powerful, and that, as they have a great inclination for the French, it would be advisable to grant their request, to secure them to our alliance, And, moreover, that by means of that establishment we might push our discoveries much farther Toward the West.[49] We considered that our Zeal for the King's Service should lead us to adopt this suggestion, and we are making arrangements to give the said Sieur Marin the assistance he needs for founding that establishment, which he has undertaken, as he knows

[49] The post among the Sioux had always been considered useful as a starting point for Western discovery. Perrot's Fort Antoine (1689) was the scene of taking possession of the West in the name of the French King; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 35, 36. Fort Beauharnois (1727–29) was built as part of the project of a search for the Sea of the West; see *Id.*, xvii, pp. 22–28. This post was re-occupied from 1732–37, and for the fourth time was rebuilt in 1750, only to be abandoned six years later, when the French and Indian War caused the withdrawal of the garrison.—ED.

that country and is greatly beloved by those nations. This will have a good effect with regard to the trade that may be carried on there in the future. He has asked us for some canoes, And for something to be given as presents to that nation, as well as for some soldiers to guard the posts he will establish; this we have granted him.

In consequence of information we have received that the savages of the North generally pass by Toronto on the West shore of lake Ontario, 25 leagues from Niagara and 75 leagues from fort frontenac, in order to carry their furs to Chouaguen, We thought it would be very advisable to establish a post at That place and to Send there an officer, 15 soldiers and several workmen to erect a small fort of palisades.[50] This will not entail much expense because timber is abundant in the vicinity and the conveyances of the other things can be done by means of the barks of fort frontenac.[51] We cannot take too many precautions to prevent the said Savages from continuing to Trade with the English, and, in order that they may find what they need at that post, as cheap as at Chouaguen, We shall allow some canoes to go there with licenses, and we shall use the money derived therefrom in giving a gratuity to the officer who is to Command there.

It is likewise advisable to order the Commandants of Detroit, Niagara And fort frontenac, to see that the merchants and store-Keepers established at those posts sell their goods for two or three years in the future, at the same prices as the English, And by this means the savages will get out of the habit of going to Chouaguen, Which will compel the English to

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[50] The post at Toronto, built in 1749, was named Fort Rouillé, for the French minister of the marine. It was maintained for about ten years. In 1757 a disturbance arose among the Indians of the post, when Pouchot, the Niagara commandant, sent Captain de la Ferté and fifty men to reinforce the garrison. Remains of the foundation for this fort were visible as late as 1879, and its site in the present city of Toronto is marked by a cairn.—Ed.

[51] For this fort see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 321.—Ed.

abandon that post. If any new Idea should occur to us that can contribute to the fall of Chouaguen, we will carry it out.

We remain, with very profound respect Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient Servants,

BIGOT.
LAIONQUIERE,

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1749: PROMOTION FOR A WISCONSIN OFFICER

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Nov. 4, 1749. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 218.]

QUEBEC, November 4, 1749.

MONSEIGNEUR—The Sieur Denys de la Ronde, Ensign in full, has just arrived from one of the Northern posts where He was in command.[52] He has represented to me that 15 officers who were his juniors have been promoted over him, which is all the more unfortunate, since he was 14 years a cadet with Aiguillettes and 8 years a second Ensign. This reason, Added to the good qualities of that officer, Leads me to Beg you, Monseigneur, to be pleased to grant him the Reversion of the first Lieutenancy that may become vacant. This favor seems to me all the more just because Madame de la Ronde[53] is a poor widow and has no other means of livelihood than the pay her children get in the King's service.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIERE.

If you accept the suggestion I had the honor to make you with reference to the Chevalier de Repentigny,[54] you will be

[52] Philippe Denis de la Ronde, eldest son of Louis (for whom see *Ibid.*, pp. 299–309, 335), attained the rank of captain in the Canadian army and was killed before Quebec in the spring of 1760. See *Id.*, vii, p. 345.—ED.

[53] For this person see *Id.*, xvii, p. 477.—ED.

[54] Louis le Gardeur, Chevalier de Repentigny, was born in 1721. Having entered the colonial army as ensign (1742), he was in the fol-

able, Monseigneur, to grant his Lieutenancy to the Sieur de La Ronde.

1749: CÉLORON'S EXPEDITION DOWN THE OHIO.

[Translated from Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et établissement des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1886), vi, pp. 666–726.]

Journal of the Campaign that I Céloron, chevalier of the royal military Order of St. Louis captain commanding a detachment sent down the Beautiful River, made by the orders of Monsieur le marquis de La Galissonière, governor-general of all New France and the country of Louisiana.

[Synopsis: Left la Chine June 15 with a detachment of one captain, eight subalterns, six cadets, one chaplain,[55] twenty men of the troops, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and

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lowing year stationed at Fort St. Frédéric. During King George's War (1744–48) he distinguished himself as a partisan, ambushing a force near Albany (1746), and raiding Schenectady (1748). In 1750, De Repentigny received the concession of Sault Ste. Marie, where he was occupied until the French and Indian War (1754–63). During the siege of Quebec (1759) he commanded under Lévis, and was noted for gallant conduct at the battle of St. Foye (1760). After the cession of New France to England, De Repentigny retired to France (1764). In 1769 he was commander at the Isle of Ré, serving until 1778, when he accompanied his regiment to the West Indies, and served for a time in Georgia, being commandant until 1782 at Guadeloupe. In 1783, having attained the rank of brigadier, he was made governor of Senegal, in West Africa. He died (1786) while on a furlough at Paris, but his heirs remained in Guadeloupe. Later they brought suit in the United States courts for the seigniory of Sault Ste. Marie; see *post*.—Ed.

[55] The chaplain was Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps, professor of hydrography in the Jesuit college at Quebec. Born in 1707, he came to Canada in 1741, remaining in his professorship until the fall of the colony. He then returned to France, dying (1790) in Brittany. The journal of his voyage is published in *Jesuit Relations*, lxix, pp. 150–199.—Ed.

thirty Savages—as many Iroquois as Abenaki. Camped at Point Claire.

The 16th at Soulanges, several canoes being destroyed in the rapids.

The 17th at the Cedars, where Monsieur de Joncaire[56] was shipwrecked, and one man lost.

The 18th at the entrance of lake St. Francis, resting and drying goods.

The 20th, mounted the Long Sault.

The 25th, arrived at a new French establishment made by the Abbé Piquet, where a picket fort was but little advanced.[57] Two of his Onondaga accompanied the expedition.

The 27th, arrived at five in the afternoon at fort Frontenac.

The 30th, left for Niagara. At Quinté met Monsieur de La Naudière[58] returning from the Miami country. He reported that the tribes at Detroit apprized of the expedition were ready to join it at the first invitation. Hastened to rejoin Monsieur de Sabrevois going as commandant to Detroit.[59]

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[56] Philippe Thomas Joncaire, eldest son of Louis Thomas, was born in 1707 and reared in the Seneca country. By 1729 he had become ensign, eventually (1751) attaining the rank of captain in the colonial army. In 1734, when his father was sent among the Shawnee, Philippe succeeded to the latter's position of influence among the Seneca. His trading house was at Niagara, whence he frequently accompanied chieftains to Montreal, and exerted himself to neutralize the influence of Sir William Johnson. After accompanying Céloron's Ohio expedition, he appears to have returned to the Niagara frontier, where Croghan met him in 1751, and Washington in 1753. Successful in winning the Ohio Indians to the French cause, he served as captain and official interpreter throughout the French and Indian War, signing (1759) the capitulation of Niagara. Retiring to France, he appears to have returned to Canada in 1764. His brother Daniel, usually known as Sieur de Chabert, retired to Detroit, and became an English citizen, his sons serving against the Americans in the War of the Revolution.—Ed.

[57] For this priest, and his establishment on the site of the present city of Ogdensburgh, N. Y., see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 371.—Ed.

[58] For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 223.—Ed.

[59] Clement Sabrevois de Bleury, an efficient Canadian officer. By

July 6th, arrived at Niagara[60] and overtook Monsieur de Sabrevois. Wrote to the chevalier de Longueil not to defer the departure of the Detroit Indians if they wished to join the expedition at the Sioto from the 9th to the 12th of August.

Having portaged the falls of Niagara, entered Lake Erie the 14th. After laboring in a strong gale, reached the Chatakoin portage on the 16th. Sent a party ahead to clear the road. This place would not be advantageous for a fort, as there are no native villages near.

The 17th–22nd, occupied with the portage, coming out on Chatakoin Lake.[61]

The 23d saw spies, who when perceived concealed themselves in the woods.

The 24th left the lake and entered Chatakoin River,[62] which

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1727 he had received his lieutenancy, and in 1742 was made captain. In 1747 he had relieved Céloron at Crown Point, and was going to relieve Longueuil at Detroit, and conduct a party of habitants thither. In the spring of 1750 he returned to Montreal, where he became adjutant. During the French and Indian War he commanded Canadian militia, his ability and skill being highly praised by his superiors. In 1759 he was major of troops at Montreal; upon the cession of New France, retiring to the mother country, where he lived upon a royal pension until his death in 1774.—Ed.

[60] Although several attempts were made by the French to secure a foothold upon the Niagara frontier, none were permanently successful until Joncaire secured permission (1720) to erect a storehouse, which was known as "Magazin royal." Six years later Fort Niagara was built, under the direction of the engineer Chaussegros de Léry, with materials brought in part from Fort Frontenac by vessels built there for the purpose. This French post was situated on the point of land at the mouth of the river, on the east bank. Portions of the stone work are yet visible. A garrison was maintained here, and the fur-trade carried on for the account of the king. In 1759, the English forces led by Sir William Johnson captured the fort, then under command of the French officer François Pouchot.—Ed.

[61] They entered Chautauqua Creek, which Bonnécamps calls Apple River, ascended it about five miles, and then portaged across six miles to Chautauqua Lake.—Ed.

[62] Now called Cassadaga Creek, into which flows Chautauqua Lake outlet.—Ed.

was so low that the larger part of the baggage had to be portaged.

The 25th held a council of the officers, and determined to send by Joncaire a pacifying message to the Savages at Paille Coupée.[63]

After many difficulties entered the Beautiful River[64] the 29th, where a leaden plate with an inscription was buried.[65]

Passed to the village of Kanaouagon,[66] whose chiefs were invited to attend the council at Paille Coupée. Reached that village the 30th, where the Indians were in terror about to take to the woods, when Joncaire arrived to reassure them. A council was held, at which was delivered the governor's message desiring them to break off all relationship with the English.

The 1st of August came to a small village of Loups and

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[63] Paille Coupée (Broken Straw) was an important village, chiefly of Seneca, situated on the north bank of the Allegheny, about nine miles below Conewango Creek, and just below the small stream now known as Brokenstraw in Warren County, Pa. This village would appear to have been a recent settlement of the Seneca.—Ed.

[64] The name Beautiful River (Fr., La Belle Rivière) was given to the entire course of the Allegheny and Ohio, from the source of the former to the mouth of the latter. The expedition entered the Allegheny where the town of Warren, Pa., now stands.—Ed.

[65] This first plate, buried at the mouth of Conewango (Tchadakoin) Creek, July 29, 1749, was very soon disinterred by the Indians, and carried to Sir William Johnson; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vi, pp. 605–611, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 508; a facsimile is given in the former. In Céloron's journal the place of interment is given as the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaouagon; this, together with the report of the Indians that the plate was stolen from Joncaire, makes it seem at least possible that there were two plates—one prepared for inhumation and then stolen, and a second actually buried. See O. H. Marshall, "De Céloron's Expedition to the Ohio in 1749," in *Magazine of American History*, ii, pp. 131-137. We are inclined, however, to think that but one plate was made for this locality.—Ed.

[66] A small village just below the site of Warren, Pa. Bonnécamps calls it Kananoungan, later Anglicized into Conewango.—Ed.

Renards,[67] where only one man was left, the rest having fled. Farther down came to another small Loup village. A council with the Loups was held, the next day, at a larger village.

The 3d continued the route as far as the village at the mouth of River Les Bœufs,[68] a few miles below which a plate was buried.[69]

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[67] The Loups were probably the Delawares, large portions of which tribe had, about this time, begun to remove to the Allegheny from the eastward. One of their clans was called the Wolf (Loup), known to the English as Munsee. The Mahican, who were also known by the French as Loups, were mingled with the Delawares. It is interesting to find Renards (Foxes, Outagamie) so far from their usual Wisconsin habitat.—Ed.

[68] Rivière le Bœuf, so called by the French who built a fort (1754) at its mouth, on the site of the present town of Franklin. Since Washington's journey, in 1753, this stream has been known as French Creek. At the time of Céloron's expedition the trading house of John Fraser stood on this site. Its occupants, warned of the approach of the French expedition, had escaped to the woods. Fraser was a gunsmith who had for several years lived among the Ohio Indians. In 1753, upon the building of Forts Presqu'isle and Le Bœuf, Fraser abandoned his trading house, and removed to the Monongahela, between McKeesport and Pittsburgh. Washington recommended him for a lieutenancy in the Virginia regiment under Capt. Adam Stephen. After Ensign Ward had been driven from the forks of Ohio by the French expedition that erected Fort Duquesne, Fraser and Stephen were tried by courtmartial for absence at the time of stress. Both were acquitted, Fraser on the ground that Washington had promised that he might continue trading at his post. Fraser afterwards served as captain of guides in Forbes's campaign, removing his family back to Cumberland, Md., after two had been captured (1755) by Indians. He finally settled near Ligonier, Pa., and there died early in 1774, leaving a widow and seven young children. For a letter of Fraser's, see *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 659.—Ed.

[69] This plate was buried at the foot of a rock which had an Indian inscription; see H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States* (Phila., 1851–57), iv, p. 172, and plates 17, 18. The plate fell into the possession of Gov. Thomas Pownall, and one of the phrases was by him interpreted to mean "Trois Rivières," which he supposed referred to the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh); see Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, pp. 273, 274. What he interpreted as "3 rivieres dessous la riviere au

The next day Joncaire was sent in advance to the village of Attigné,[70] where the expedition arrived on the 6th. This was found deserted, so proceeded on past the former village of the Chaounons, which had in 1745 been abandoned by Chartier and his band.[71] Here were met, returning to Philadelphia, six English engagés with fifty horses and about a hundred and fifty packs of peltry. These were ordered to retire by means of a written message, a letter being sent by them to the Governor of Philadelphia, protesting against the English trade in that region.[72]

The 7th passed a Loup village, where only three men remained; later another village known as "Written Rock," where lived Iroquois governed by a chieftainess who is entirely de-

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bœuf ce 3 Aoust," and which he says was "scratched with the point of a knife and scarcely legible," was in reality "4 lieus au dessous," etc.—compare Céloron's journal in Margry, vi, p. 684. The journals of neither Céloron nor Bonnécamps mentions the burial of a plate at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela.—Ed.

[70] This should be Attiqué, a village at the mouth of Kiskiminitas Creek. A. A. Lambing, in *Catholic Historical Researches*, 1886, identifies this village with Kittanning, claiming that Céloron does not mention the latter. He is here, we think, in error, for the French officer speaks of villages of both Loups and Iroquois, on the heights of the river passed on August 5. Parkman likewise identifies Attiqué with Kittanning. But see map of Anville (1753), with both names found thereon, the latter of which must be at Kiskiminitas. See also *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, 1035, x, 901.—Ed.

[71] For the identification of this town see "Weiser's Journal," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 23, 25, notes 14, 18.

For Chartier and the Shawnee removal, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 331, 448.—Ed.

[72] For this letter see *N. Y. Colon, Docs.* vi, p. 532, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v, p. 425.

The governor of Pennsylvania was James Hamilton, born in Philadelphia in 1713, son of a prominent lawyer. He was likewise educated for the legal profession, and in 1748 appointed lieutenant-governor of the province. Owing to difficulties with the Quaker party, he resigned in 1754, but was re-instated five years later, retaining the governorship four years longer. He died in New York in 1783.—Ed.

voted to the English. Six traders found there, were ordered to retire. This is one of the most beautiful places seen on the Beautiful River, thus far on the journey.[73]

The 8th arrived at Chiningué, where precautions were taken in case of hostilities, which as was afterwards discovered had been planned. It was thought best to temporize and treat with rather than attack this village of hostiles, composed of Iroquois, Chaouanons, and Loups.[74] Mingled with these

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[73] The Loup (or Delaware) village was Shannopin's Town, a well-known Indian village within the limits of the present Pittsburgh. It was situated upon the southeastern side of the Allegheny, extending thence toward the forks. Shannopin's was a trading village, known to the English as early as 1730. The chief from whom it took its name died about 1749. The second village was a Seneca town ruled by Queen Aliquippa. The first mention of this chieftess is in 1701, when she visited William Penn at Newcastle. Weiser dined with her in 1748. When Washington visited the Ohio in 1753, she had removed her village to the mouth of the Youghiogheny. Thence she joined him, with her son, at Fort Necessity (1754). This son accompanied Braddock (1775); the aged chieftess had by that time removed to five miles east of Raystown, near Bedford. Several geographical names in this vicinity take their nomenclature from her. She is conjectured to have been of Conestoga stock. See W. H. Egle, *Notes and Queries* (Harrisburgh, 1895), 2nd series, p. 460.—Ed.

[74] Chiningué (Shenango) was known to the English as Logstown, and at this period was an important centre for Indian trade. Apparently founded about 1743 for purposes of English trade, Croghan had a trading house therein, when Weiser made his journey of 1748—the first official visit beyond the Alleghanies. Croghan was here in 1751, and outwitted Joncaire, and in the following year an important treaty was held at this place. Washington was there in 1753, and some time thereafter, the tide having turned in favor of the French, the latter built log-houses for the inhabitants on a neighboring bluff. Post in 1758 found the place deserted, as also Bouquet (1764), and Beatty (1766). It continued, however, to be a prominent trading place. John Gibson had a commercial house here in 1775, but it was abandoned two years later, and the site deserted until Wayne's campaign (1792–94), when his camp, Legionville, was established in the neighborhood. The site was just below the present Economy. The Indian name of the place was Maughwawame.—Ed.

were Indians from other tribes, making a very bad village seduced by the cheapness of English goods. Called the English traders, and required them to depart from the Beautiful River, sending a message by them to the governor of Carolina.[75] The Indians in council made a conciliatory reply, with which the governor of New France would be satisfied if one could believe in their sincerity; but it is to their interest to trade with the English, whose goods are so much cheaper than those of the French. They promised, however, to visit Onontio the following spring, and after giving them a considerable present the expedition continued down the river, meeting on the 12th two English pirogues from Saint Yotoc. Hoped to find the wild cattle abundant, as the governor had reported, in order to refresh a number of sick men in the company, who were living wholly upon biscuit; but the Indians who were sent out to hunt found only a few deer.

The 13th buried an inscribed plate at the River Kanououara; and on the 15th, one at the mouth of Yenanguakonan River.[76]

The 18th camped at noon on account of rain, and buried another leaden plate, at the mouth of Chinondaista River, which is navigable for forty leagues and rises near Carolina.[77]

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[75] The message, also sent to the governor of Pennsylvania, is printed in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vi, p. 532; *Penn. Colon. Arch.*, 2nd series, vi, p. 66. The governor of North Carolina was Gabriel Johnston, a Scotchman, who held the office from 1734 until his death in 1752.—Ed.

[76] It is not known that the first plate, probably interred at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, has ever been found. The plate buried at Yenanguakonan was discovered by some lads at the mouth of the Muskingum in 1798. Not knowing its value as an historic relic, they used part of it for making bullets. Rescued at last by Paul Fearing, it passed (1821) into the hands of Caleb Atwater, who sent it (1827) to Gov. De Witt Clinton. It finally passed into the care of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. An illustration thereof is to be found in Samuel P. Hildreth, *Pioneer History of Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 20.—Ed.

[77] The Great Kanawha River. The name upon the plate is Chinodahichetha. This plate was discovered by a boy in April, 1846, and

The 20th again set out, encountering a Loup Indian returning from war with the tribe of Chien; to him provision was given to last as far as Chiningué. He reported that there were eighty to a hundred cabins at Saint Yotoc.[78] The Indians of the detachment fearing to approach this town, Messieurs Joncaire and de Niverville,[79] with an Indian escort, were sent in advance to announce the arrival of the expedition.

The 22nd we encountered Joncaire returning with seven Iroquois and Chaouanons. He had been received in a hostile manner, and had only been saved from death by the good offices of an Iroquois chief. The Indians of the village were frightened at the approach of the expedition, and so badly disposed toward the French that in forty-eight hours they had erected a picket for defense.

The situation was serious, two thirds of the detachment being composed of raw recruits, moreover short of provisions, the

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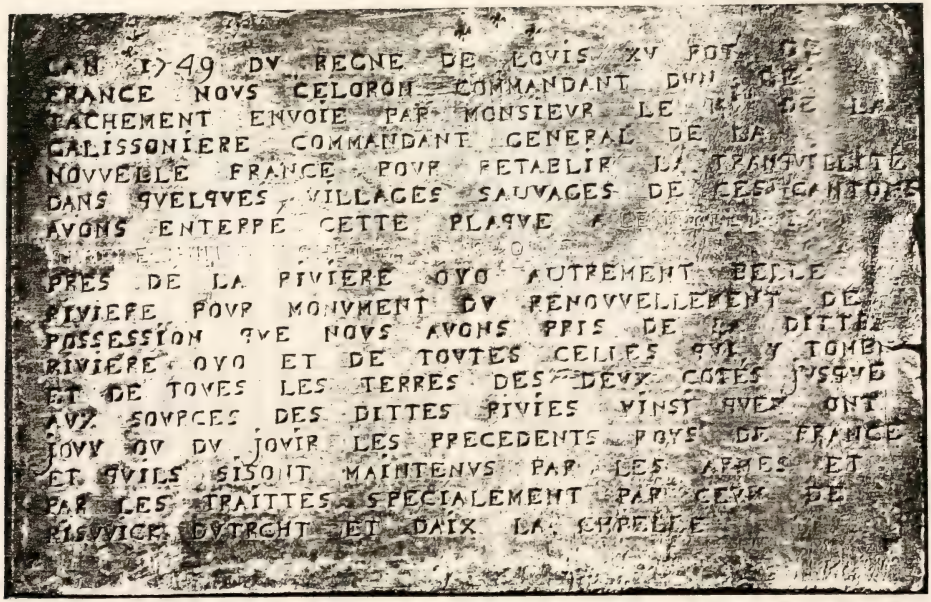
is now deposited with the Virginia Historical Society, at Richmond. See accompanying illustration.—Ed.

[78] Saint-Yotoc appears to be a misreading of Sinhioto (or Scioto), the Shawnee town at the mouth of the river of that name. See *ante*, note 7.—Ed.

[79] Niverville belonged to the Boucher family. Jean Baptiste Boucher, Sieur de Niverville, had three sons, the most famous of whom was Joseph, known as Chevalier de Niverville. Born in 1715, he was made ensign in the army (1743), and was a well-known partisan in King George's War (1744–48). He was influential with the Abenaki Indians, and led a raiding party into New England (1747) that attacked Fort Massachusetts without success. After this voyage with Céloron (1749), Chevalier de Niverville was detached to accompany Le Gardeur de St. Pierre as second in command of the Post of the Western Sea. Under his orders Fort La Jonquière was built on the upper Saskatchewan, not far from the site of the present Calgary, but De Niverville's illness prevented further exploration. Soon after Braddock's defeat (1755), De Niverville led a raiding party against Fort Cumberland, Md., and did much damage. He commanded Indians at the siege of Fort William Henry (1757), and during the following year was in command of Fort Machault in Pennsylvania. At the siege of Quebec (1759) he was employed in scouting operations, and in 1763 was awarded the cross of St. Louis "for distinguished services."—Ed.



LEADEN PLATE BURIED BY CÉLORON

Found at mouth of Great Kanawha River, and now in possession of Virginia Historical Society. From photograph recently taken for the present volume

canoes sadly in need of repairs, and no other course possible but to advance. The officers, however, and about fifty of the men, were trustworthy.

When about quarter of a league from the village the expedition was discovered, and salutes fired. After considerable negotiations the chiefs agreed to come next day to Céloron's camp across the river[80] to listen to his message. After the Indians had returned to their own village, guards were set, and the rounds carefully made during the entire night at the camp. At the native village, besides the Chaouanons and Iroquois of which it was composed, there were several Indians of the Sault St. Louis mission, some from that of the Lake of Two Mountains, as well as Miami, Loups, and some from nearly all the tribes of the Upper Country, all entirely devoted to the English.

A council was held the following day, during which a Chaouanon came in, saying that all the tribes of Detroit were advancing against their village, and would destroy it while the chiefs were being amused in council. With considerable difficulty Céloron assured them of the contrary, calmed their minds, and continued negotiations. Joncaire reported that the alarm arose from the approach of a party of Outaouas, who were coming as messengers from Monsieur de Sabrevois at Detroit.

The 24th the chiefs came to a council, where they made a vague and unsatisfactory reply to Onontio's messages. Céloron called the English traders and summoned them to retire, writing to the governor of Carolina, according to instructions, that traders from his territory would be in danger if they came hither again.

Although Céloron had orders to pillage the goods of the English traders, he was not strong enough for that, as they

[80] Céloron's camp was apparently on the east side of the Scioto, where Portsmouth now stands, while the village lay on the west bank; some of the cabins were probably on the south side of the Ohio.—Ed.

were well established in the village, and sustained by the savages.

The Outaouas sent by Monsieur de Sabrevois came bringing letters stating that Monsieur La Naudière was mistaken concerning the disposition of the Indians at Detroit, who could not be persuaded to march. Having written to Monsieur de Sabrevois to send twenty canoes below Detroit with provisions, by October first, the messengers were dispatched homeward.—Hereafter, the full text of the Journal is followed.—Ed.]

The 26th I left Saint-Yotoc at ten o'clock in the morning. All the Savages were under arms and saluted as I passed before their village.

The 27th I arrived at White River about ten o'clock at night. I knew that three leagues in the interior there were six cabins of Miamis, which caused me to camp at this place.[81]

The 28th I sent Monsieur de Villiers[82] and my son to these

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[81] For this village and its location see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 475.—Ed.

[82] This was probably Louis Coulon de Villiers (1710–57). The several sons of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, who was killed at Green Bay in 1733, had much experience in the Western country. Their identity has been confused; but in the careful study of Abbé Amédée Gosselin, in *Bulletin des Récherches Historiques* (Lévis, 1906), xii, is to be found the statement of their services. By this it will be seen that the son, who carried news of the defeat of the Foxes (1730), and who commanded at La Baye upon his father's death, also at St. Josephs (1740–43), was not Louis, but Nicolas Antoine fils (1708–50). Louis, later known as "Le Grand Villiers," was with his father at Fort St. Josephs in 1729 and 1731. In 1732 he became a second ensign, and was probably at Green Bay (1733), since his father was there accompanied by his six sons. In 1739 he was with Longueuil on the Chickasaw expedition, and with his elder brother in Acadia (1746). Feb. 10, 1749, he was in Montreal, also in 1750 upon returning from this expedition with Céloron. His rank at this period was lieutenant. In 1750 he was assigned to command at Fort Miami, and after the customary three years of service returned to Montreal, where he married December, 1753. The following year, having become captain, he led a detachment to Fort Duquesne, and secured the capitulation of Washington at Fort Necessity.

cabins to request those Savages to come and speak with me. They brought them and I engaged them to come with me to the village of la Demoiselle, where I was about to go to carry the message of their father Onontio. They consented to this and asked me to wait until the morrow in order to give them time to go and prepare for their journey. There are in this same village two cabins of Sonnontouans; the policy of these tribes is to always have some of the latter with them who are shields for them. I engaged one of the Sonnontouans who speaks miami well to come with me to the home of la Demoiselle. I had need of him, having no interpreter for that language, and I had matters of consequence to treat of with the Miami chief.

The 29th I wrote to Monsieur Raimond,[83] captain and commandant at the Miami fort, and begged him to send me a certain Roy, an interpreter,[84] with as many horses as he possibly could to transport our baggage over a portage fifty leagues in length.

The 30th, the Savages of White River having come, I embarked in order to arrive at Rock River, at whose mouth I had a leaden plate buried and the arms of the King attached to a tree, concerning which I drew up an official report.[85]

The next year he was commandant at Niagara, and in 1756 distinguished himself in the capture of Fort Oswego. His last campaign was that of Fort William Henry, for which he received the decoration of the cross of St. Louis. Dying of smallpox Nov. 2, 1757, he was buried in the cathedral at Quebec.—Ed.

[83] For the services of Captain Raymond see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 477.—Ed.

[84] Pierre Roy, alleged to have been the first white man to settle on the site of Detroit, married (1703) a Miami Indian woman named Marguerite Ouabankikoue. They had two sons, Pierre being born in 1706, and François in 1713. Probably the interpreter here desired, was one of these sons.—Ed.

[85] Great Miami River was, Bonnécamps says, also called Rock River, because of its rocky bed. As far as known no trace of this leaden plate has been found.—Ed.

Official-report of the sixth leaden plate buried at the mouth of Rock River, the 31st of August, 1749.

"Year 1749, we Céloron, knight of the royal and military order of Saint-Louis, captain commanding a detachment sent by the orders of Monsieur the marquis de La Galissonière, commandant general of Canada upon the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the chief officers of the detachment, have buried on the point formed by the right bank of the Ohio and the left bank of Rock River, a leaden plate, and fastened to a tree the arms of the King, in witness whereof we have drawn up and signed with Messieurs the officers, the present official report."

This done, I embarked. The shallowness of the water in the river caused me to be thirteen days ascending it.

The 12th the Miamis of the village of la Demoiselle, having learned that I had arrived near them, sent four chiefs to me with peace calumets for me to smoke. As I had half of my people on land, there not being enough water in the river to float loaded canoes, I was informed by Monsieur de Courtemanche,[86] officer of the detachment, of the arrival of these envoys. I disembarked at the place where they were, and when we had all sat down, they commenced their ceremony and presented to me the calumet; I accepted it. They carried it,

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[86] François le Gardeur de Repentigny Crozille, Sieur de Courtemanche, was born in 1711, son of Charles, Sieur de Crozille and grandson of Jean Baptiste de Repentigny. He early entered the army, and receiving the estate of the elder Sieur de Courtemanche, who died without heirs, was thereafter known by that title. In 1743, he became first ensign, and was second in command at Detroit (1739–43). In 1748 he became lieutenant, and eight years later received his captaincy. That year (1756) he served with Montcalm at Oswego, and the two following years was active in the Lake Champlain region, commanding large detachments of Indians. During the siege of Quebec, he held an important post on Isle d'Orleans. After the surrender, Courtemanche retired to France, living as a pensionaire at Loches until about 1776. His widow, Marie-Louise St. Ours, was still living on the king's pension in 1784.—Ed.

thereupon, to Monsieur de Contrecœur, captain[87] second in command of the expedition, and to all the officers, and to the Canadians who, hungry for a smoke, would have wished the ceremony to last longer. The time to camp having arrived, we slept at that place; the envoys remaining with us. I was obliged despite the scarcity of the provisions that I possessed to give them supper.

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[87] Claude Pierre Pécaudy (Pécody), Sieur de Contrecœur, was the third of that name to serve as an officer in New France. Born in 1706 at Contrecœur, he entered the army while young, receiving a commission as second ensign about 1727. In 1734 he was promoted to a full ensignship, and in 1742 became lieutenant. While stationed at Niagara (1744) as second in command, his superior fell ill, and the command of this important post fell to his lot. The governor wrote that he was a wise, talented, and reliable officer, and he retained this position until relieved at his own request in 1747. The following year he became captain, and after accompanying Céloron on this expedition was occupied with garrison duties until sent in the spring of 1754 to relieve St. Pierre on the Ohio. Leaving Venango with a large detachment, he drove Ensign Ward from the half-finished stockade at the site of Pittsburgh. For his summons, see Craig, *Olden Time*, 1, p. 83. It was Contrecœur who sent out Jumonville, and later Coulon de Villiers, against Washington, and received the hostages brought from Fort Necessity. Still in command the following year, he dispatched the forces that routed Braddock, and received the English prisoners at the fort. He is credited with having been humane, and endeavoring to restrain his savage allies. For his success in this campaign he was rewarded with the cross of St. Louis and a pension of 400 livres. Late in 1755, Contrecœur was relieved at Fort Duquesne by Dumas. In 1756 he was prominent in operations on Lake Champlain. There his eldest son was killed by an accidental discharge of his own gun—a mischance which proved a grievous affliction for the father. After this date he undertook but little in military operations, and Jan. 1, 1759, was retired on account of infirmity. After the surrender of Canada, Contrecœur remained in the colony, and was a member of the legislative council of 1775, dying at Montreal, Dec. 13 of the same year. He was twice married, to Madeleine Boucher (1729) and to the widow Morandière (1768).—Ed.

The 13th I arrived at the village of la Demoiselle,[88] I had my camp pitched and sentinels placed, and awaited the arrival of the interpreter that I had requested of Monsieur de Raimond. During this time I sounded their minds to know if they were disposed to return to Kiskanon, this is the name of their ancient village.[89] It seemed to me that they had no great repugnance to this. They had two English engagés in their village whom I made depart. Those who had passed the summer in trading there had alrady gone away with their effects by the land route; they have paths of communication from one village to the other.

The 17th, annoyed that the interpreter had not arrived and that my provisions were being consumed in waiting, I determined to speak with la Demoiselle by means of an Iroquois who spoke miami well. I showed them the magnificent presents on the part of Monsieur the General,[90] in order to induce them to return to their village and explained to them his intentions in the following terms:

Words of Monsieur the General to the Miamis of la Demoiselle, established on Rock River, and to le Baril established on White River, brought by Monsieur de Céloron, the 17th of September, 1749, by eight branches of porcelain for the two villages.

"My children, the manner that I have treated you, spite of what you have done to the French, what I have given you to

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[88] For this village see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 482. The exact site was at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, on the west side of the Great Miami. Some traces thereof were seen as late as 1790. At the time of Céloron's visit there were but forty or fifty warriors at this village. Its subsequent history will be related *post*.—Ed.

[89] For the location of this village, which was also the site of the Miami French post, see *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 185.—Ed.

[90] See the Miami report of these presents to Gov. James Hamilton of Pennsylvania, in A. T. Goodman, *Journal of Captain William Trent* (Cincinnati, 1871), p. 27: "The French brought them a present, consisting of four half barrels of powder, four bags of bullets, and four bags of paint, with a few needles, and a little thread."—Ed.

maintain your wives and children, ought to prove to you the attachment that I have for you and the sincerity of my sentiments. I forget what you have done and I bury it in the depths of the earth, in order nevermore to recall it, persuaded that you have done nothing but at the instigation of people whose policy is to trouble the earth and to spoil the spirit of those with whom they communicate, and who, without appearing therein themselves, profiting by the unfortunate ascendency that you have allowed them to gain over you, have caused you to commit faults and engaged you in evil affairs, in order to ruin you in my estimation. It is to enlighten you that I send you my word, listen well and give good heed thereto, my children; it is the word of a father who loves you and has your interests at heart. By these two branches of porcelain I put out the two fires that you have lighted within the past two years at Rock River and White River, I extinguish them in such a manner that there will not appear even a single spark."

By a collar to la Demoiselle and one to le Baril.

"My children, I come to say to you by these branches of porcelain that I extinguish the two fires that you have lighted within the past two years at Rock River and at White River. By these collars I raise you from your mats, and take you by the hand to bring you to Kikakon, where I relight your fire and make it more enduring than ever. It is in that land, my children, that you will enjoy perfect tranquility and that I shall be present at each instant to give you the marks of my friendship; it is in that land, my children, that you will enjoy the pleasures of life, being the *spot where repose the bones of your ancestors, and those of Monsieur de Vincennes, whom you loved so well and who governed you always* in such manner that your affairs always went well.[91] If you have forgotten the

[91] For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 228, xvii, p. 29. It was the elder Vincennes, who is here referred to; the younger, founder of Post Vincennes having been burned by the Chickasaw in 1736. The elder Vincennes was the founder of Fort Miami, and of great influence among the tribe of that name.—Ed.

counsels that they gave you these ashes will recall their memory to you. The bones of your ancestors suffer from your absence, have pity on your dead who desire you again in your village. Go thither with your wives and children; the chief whom I send you, carries my word, and will light your fire anew at Kiskakon in such manner that it will never be extinguished. I will give all the succor that you may expect from my friendship, and consider, my children, that I do for you what I have never done for any other nation."

Another word by four branches of porcelain and two to le Baril.

"By these branches of porcelain I erect a barrier to all passage to the Beautiful River, so that you shall no longer go thither and so that the English who are the authors of all evil designs may not approach this territory which belongs to me. I make for you at the same time a beautiful road to conduct you to Kiskikon, where I relight your fire. I break off all trade with the English whom I have notified to retire from my lands, and if they come thither they shall have cause to repent."

By two branches of porcelain to la Demoiselle and two to le Baril.

"When you have done, my children, what I request of you, which is solely for your advantage, I invite you to come and see me, next year, and to receive from me particular marks of my esteem; I give the same invitation to all your brothers of the Beautiful River. I hope that you have one and all sufficient spirit to respond to me as you should, and in order to begin to give you a proof of my friendship I send you these presents to cover your wives and children; I add to these gun-powder and balls that you may live more conveniently en route when you return to Kiskanon. Abandon the country where you are, it is pernicious for you, and profit by what I do for you."

The council finished, everyone retired. They carried the presents to their village where they assembled to deliberate on their replies.

The 18th at nine o'clock in the morning, they came to make their response.

Reply of la Demoiselle, chief of the Miamis, established at Rock River, and of le Baril established at White River, the 18th of September 1749, by peace calumets:

"It is an ancient custom among us, when we speak of pleasant matters first to present the calumets, we pray you to have the goodness to listen to us. We come to reply to what you have said to us. This calumet is a token of the pleasure that I have in smoking with you, and we hope to smoke this same calumet with our father next year."

By a collar.

"My father, we have listened with pleasure to your words. We have truly seen that you come only with good intentions. You have brought to our memory the bones of our ancestors, who groan at seeing us in this place and who continually recall us. You prepare for us a fine road to return to our former mats. We thank you for it, our father, and we promise you to return thither the very beginning of next spring. We thank you for the kind words which you have given us, we see in truth that you have not forgotten us. Be persuaded that we shall endeavor always to have only pleasant relations with the Chaouanons. We recollect the good counsel which Monsieur de Vincennes gave us. My father, you address people without spirit and who cannot reply to you, perhaps, as you have hoped, but they speak sincerely to you. It is not with the tips of the lips that they speak to you, but from the bottom of the heart. You have bid us to reflect seriously on what you have said to us; we have done so, and shall continue to do so during the entire winter. We hope to have the pleasure of giving you a good word in the spring. If the hunting is abundant, we will repair our faults. We assure you, my father, we will listen no longer either to bad discourse or to evil rumors. Such at present is our intention."

Reply of Monsieur de Céloron to la Demoiselle and to le Baril in the same council.

"I have listened to you, my children, and I have weighed well your words. Whether you have not well understood me, or whether you pretend not to have done so, you have not replied to what I said to you. I proposed to you, on the part of your father Ontonio, to come with me to Kiskanon in order there to relight your fire, and replace your mats; you postpone this until next spring. I should have been charmed to tell your father Onontio that I had brought you back; that would have given him pleasure because of the interest that he takes in whatever concerns you. You have given me your word to come there at the end of the winter; be faithful to your promise. You assure me of this in the strongest manner, and if you fail, fear the resentments of a father who has only too much reason to be irritated against you and who has offered you the means of regaining his good graces."

Reply to these words by la Demoiselle and le Baril.

"My father, we will be faithful in executing the promise that we have given you; we will return at the end of the winter to our former abode, and, if the Master of life favors our hunting, we hope to repair our past faults. Be persuaded that we do not speak with the tips of our lips, but from the bottom of the heart. We could not at present, return whither you wish to conduct us, as the season is too far advanced."

The council finished, I detained several old men to try and discover if what they had just said to me was sincere. While I spoke with these Savages, who assured me that all these two villages would return, in the spring to Kiskakon and that what detained them was not having any cabins built where I wished to conduct them, and that whilst hunting in the winter, they would approach their former village and would certainly return thither, Roy, whom I had requested of Monsieur de Raymond arrived the 19th. I waited to try, by means of Roy, to induce la Demoiselle with some other chiefs to go with

me and relight their fires, and replace their mats at Kiskakon. In this I could not succeed. They kept saying always and assuring me that they would return next spring.

The 20th, all was ready for our departure; we broke camp. After having burned our canoes, of which we could no longer make use, we set out to march by land, each one carrying his own provisions and baggage, except Messieurs the officers, for whom I had procured horses and several men to carry their loads. I had arranged all my men in four companies, of which each had an officer at the right and one at the left. I conducted the right and Monsieur de Contrecœur the left. We took only five and a half days to cover that route, which is estimated to be fifty leagues in length.[92]

The 25th, I arrived at Monsieur de Raymond's, who commands at Kiskakon; I stayed only time enough to buy provisions and pirogues to convey me to Détroit.

The 26th I had le Pied Froid, chief of the Miamis established at Kiskakon, and certain other prominent men come to me to whom I repeated in the presence of Monsieur Raymond and the officers of our detachments, what I had said at the village of la Demoiselle and the replies I had had. After having listened with much attention, he arose and said to me: "I hope I am mistaken, but I am sufficiently attached to the interests of the French to say that la Demoiselle lies. My chief chagrin is to be the only one who loves you, and to see all the nations of the South exasperated against the French."[93]

The 27th, I left Monsieur de Raymond's. Not having enough pirogues for all my people, one party went by land under conduct of several officers and of the Savages who were to guide them through the woods. I spent eight days in passing to the foot of the Détroit straits where I arrived the 6th of October. I found canoes and provisions for my detach-

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[92] Father Bonnécamps makes estimate of thirty-five leagues, crossing the river (Loramie's Creek) three times, and at a little more than half way beginning to follow the Maumee River.—Ed.

[93] For this chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 482.—Ed.

ment. I should have departed the same day if my Savages would have followed me, but they amused themselves by drinking in the woods of the Miami River; I waited for them the 7th, and the 8th they finally arrived.[94]

The 9th of October, I left the lower end of the straits and spent the night at Point Pellé. During the voyage across Lake Erie, nothing occurred to merit attention. I arrived at Niagara the 19th, where I was delayed for three days by bad weather.

The 22nd, I left Niagara by the Southern shore of lake Ontario to betake myself to fort Frontenac. I spent fourteen days in crossing this lake, during which I had several canoes broken by the impetuosity of the wind, and I arrived the 6th of November at the said fort.

November. I left fort Frontenac. I passed to the establishment of Monsieur Piquet. I had received orders from Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissonière to note the increase that had been made during my voyage. I found only a desert where I had passed at the beginning of July. Since his departure for Montréal his fort had been burned by Savages who were supposed to have been sent by the English at Choueguen, a great meadow of hay had also been burned, and a kind of redoubt which stood in the angle of a bastion was saved, although it had been fired in several places in the underpinnings. There were only three men on guard at this fort, of whom one had his arm taken off by the explosion of a musket, which burst in his hands while he was drawing on those who set the fire. I enquired whether they knew what tribe had perpetrated this act; they replied that it was two Goyogouins who had passed the summer with Monsieur Piquet and who had been paid by

[94] It will be seen by this description that the expedition did not visit Detroit. During the interval of waiting, however, Father Bonnécamps made a hasty visit to his Jesuit colleagues at that place, and gives a favorable description of its situation. See *Jes. Rel.*, lxix, pp. 191-193.—Ed.

the English to entice his negro from him. I left and passed the night at the foot of Rapide Plat.

The 9th of November I arrived at Montréal, where I rested two days; I went down to Quebec to render an account of my voyage to Monsieur the marquis de La Jonquière. I have been fortunate enough, notwithstanding the fatigues of the campaign and the bad fare and the number of sick, not to lose but one man, who was drowned in the shipwreck of Monsieur de Joncaire.

According to the estimate of Père Bonnecamp, Jesuit and expert mathematician who gave much attention to the route, the journey was 1200 leagues; according to my estimate and that of Messieurs the officers of the detachment it was longer. All that I can say is that the tribes of those localities are very badly disposed toward the French and entirely devoted to the English. I do not know by what means they can be brought back. If force is employed they will be notified and will take to flight. They have a great refuge among the Testes plates from whom they are not so very far away. If we send to them for trade, our traders can never give our merchandise at English prices on account of the costs that they are obliged to incur. Besides I think it would be dangerous to make conditions easier for those who inhabit the Beautiful River than for those of the posts of Détroit, Miamis, and others. It would depopulate our ancient posts and perpetuate the tribes on the Beautiful River, which are convenient to the English governments.

Moreover they have sent there in recent years, but there were less English there then, and they were not accredited as they are today, and if the French traders would speak the truth they would admit that their profits arise only from the trade that they carry on with the English by the exchange of peltries. Wildcat, otter and fisher (pekan) are very cheap in England, and with us they are very high, also in that vicinity these are the only peltries, and there is no beaver. This latter is given in exchange to the English.

A solid establishment would be useful to the colony, but it would be very inconvenient to sustain it because of the difficulties of the road by which to transport provisions and other requisites. I doubt whether it could be accomplished without incurring great expense. I believe myself under obligations because of the knowledge I have acquired of all these parts to place these reflections at the end of my journal, which can be used as may be thought best.

Signed: CÉLORON.

1750: CONSPIRACY IN THE ILLINOIS

[Letter from the commandant of the Illinois[95] to Captain Raymond at Fort Miami, dated Fort Chartres, Feb. 11, 1750. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Correspondence générale, C 11, vol. 97, fol. 392."]

MONSIEUR—I have The honor to give You Notice of a Conspiracy which is being planned Against Us since last summer at The instigation of The English man,[96] who is making use of La demoiselle, chief of the miamis who have withdrawn to La Riviere à la Roche. He has given messages [paroles] to have us attacked both by the Nations of Ouabache, and by

[95] For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 428.—ED.

[96] The Englishman whose influence over the Indians was feared, and probably exaggerated by the French, was no doubt George Croghan. He had traded at Pickawillany before this time, and in 1750 the French offered a reward for his scalp; see Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, p. 44. Croghan was Irish born, settling in Pennsylvania at an early age, and entering the Indian trade. The French and Indian War ruined his commerce in the far West, but brought him into notice as an Indian agent. In this capacity he was employed by Sir William Johnson until the American Revolution. His loyalty to the Colonial cause was somewhat doubted. He died in Pennsylvania in 1782. For a more extended biographical notice, see "Croghan's Journal," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 47–57.—ED.

those who are domiciled with us. This is what I discovered a few days ago:

The rebel[97] had A Collar given by the Ouyatanons to One named pedagogue, and An English flag to his brother who is of the family of the Rouansas, the first Chiefs of the ylinois.[98] That message Was Received and sent to the Kaoskias, who Agreed to it. It Was also Sent to the peorias.[99] The Answer has not Yet Come. La Mouche Noire, who Is a pianguichias chief, is expected Here this spring. He is to bring a Collar as a last message to Carry out the Conspiracy, according to what I have been told. La demoiselle is to Come with his people, and Those of Ceniôteaux[1] to take, in passing, the miamis, the Ouyâtanons, and the pianguichias, that they may all join with our domiciled savages to attack us. There is a Rumor also that our domiciled savages are Inducing the missouris and ôsages to Unite with them. We have only two not very large Bands who do not Consent to this, but they will be compelled by force to declare themselves. When the Blow is struck they are to go and get the English and bring them Here. La demoiselle has given them to understand that they will get goods Cheap.

I beg You, Monsieur, to give me Notice if You See that the Nations of Your Section are in Motion, so that I may be able to parry the blow and do you keep on Your guard. On my Part I will have recourse to Surprise.

Last summer we Had three Frenchmen killed on the

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[97] This may be a proper name (*Le mutin*), but quite probably it designates the chief of the conspirators, whom the commandant calls "the rebel."—Ed.

[98] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Rouensa was head chief of the Kaskaskia Indians. At his village, called Rouensac, was founded the Jesuit mission that became the nucleus of the town of Kaskaskia.—Ed.

[99] The Kaoskias (Cahokia) and Peoria were Illinois tribes living near the respective villages bearing their names.—Ed.

[1] Another form for the word Scioto, referring to the town at the mouth of that river.—Ed.

Mississipy by the Cyoux, and This autumn another with His Slave on the Rivière des mouens by the petits ôsages. I have asked the latter for the murderer. I know not what they will decide. We are having Much trouble in our Territories. I know not what the result will be but I hope to avert everything.

I have the honor to be entirely, monsieur, Your very humble and very obedient servant.

BENOIEST DE ST. CLER.

At FORT DE CHARTRE the 11th of February, 1750.

Copy of the letter written me by Monsieur Benoists, Commandant of the Ylinois, Respecting the Conspiracies which I prevented from being carried out when I was in Command at Miamis, Extracted from My service journal, the original whereof Was Sent to the Court by Monsieur de lajonquière. [RAYMOND.][2]

1750: AFFAIRS IN THE UPPER POSTS

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière and Bigot, dated April 15, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but "Amérique, serie B, vol. 91, fol. 16."]

VERSAILLES, April 15, 1750.

MESSIEURS—I have received your letters of the first and 9th October last with enclosed documents.

* * * * * * * *

When Monsieur de La Galissoniere undertook to have the trade of the post of la Baye carried on by means of licenses, I approved of the lease not being renewed. But it would not be surprising if it was the Sieur Marin himself who had induced the Savages to act so as to obtain such change. It is alleged that this is not the first underhand measure of the kind he has

[2] The above letter was appended to that of Captain Raymond of Oct. 1, 1751; see *post*. It is here placed in its proper chronological position.—ED.

been reproached with; and you will have to take steps to find out exactly how matters stand, and report to me.

With reference to the post which, at his suggestion, it was also undertaken to establish among the Scioux, it is to be hoped that they who are destined to form that post will have a happier fate than most of the French who have formerly been sent among those savages. And, knowing as you must, what has occurred there and the little confidence to be reposed in those same savages, you should not have been in haste to enter upon such an undertaking.

[Letter from the French minister to La Jonquière, dated May 30, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but fol. 41.]

VERSAILLES, May 31, 1750.

MONSIEUR—I have received the letters you wrote me on the 20th and 22nd of September last year, concerning what has happened in the posts of the upper country.

After what was written to you respecting the measures you were to take to try and stop the abuses committed in connection with the expenses of those various posts, and which are one of the principal reasons for the deficit in the general expenditure of the colony, you should not have contented yourself with reproaching the Sieur Duplessis Fabert,[3] commandant at Michilimakinak for the purchases he claims to have made. And in view of the discrepancy between the high prices paid for such purchases and the abundance of all kinds of goods at his post, you should not have hesitated to remove him from his command. It is only by such examples that one can

[3] Probably the same officer noticed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 17. He was in command at Niagara, 1745-47, and at Mackinac from 1750-53, where he was the eldest captain in the colonial service. In 1756 he was made major of Montreal, and fruitlessly attempted (1758) to relieve Fort Frontenac. Several of his sons were likewise in service. In 1761 he was in France under the patronage of the Prince of Condé.—ED.

expect to put a stop to such abuses. His Majesty expressly recommends you never to neglect a single opportunity of making an example, and to report on the matter so that he himself may be able to act according to the circumstances. He has, however, approved the orders you have given to the commandants of posts to keep an accurate account of the expenses they are obliged to incur, in which they shall enter the reasons therefor.

As the Ayoüas savages were guilty of the murder of a Frenchman, you were right in ordering the Sieur de Belestre, commandant of the post of the River St. Joseph,[4] not to accept their submission until they have given up the murderers.

His Majesty also approves of your having told the commandant of la Baye to urge the Sakis, Renards, and Folles avoines to go to Montreal for their presents, according to custom. It is to be hoped that they have decided to undertake that journey, and that you have succeeded in inducing them themselves to avenge the attack made by some Sauteurs on the Sieur de Vercheres.[5]

His Majesty also has great hopes that the Sieur de Celoron was able to carry out with his detachment the views that had led Monsieur de La Galissonière to order his march, and above all that he has succeeded in driving away from the Belle Rivière the English who were trading in that region and the savages who had attracted them thither.

With reference to the various underhand dealings you learned were to be carried on by Iroquois of the Sault and of the Lake to increase the foreign trade, you did right in notifying those savages that all who should take part in it would be driven away from their villages; and, in fact, there does not seem to have been any better way to restrain them. You will be pleased to report to me all that has occurred.

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[4] For a brief sketch of this officer, see *Ibid.*, p. 459; for a more detailed account by C. M. Burton, consult *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxiv, pp. 336-340.—Ed.

[5] For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 274.—Ed.

1750: AFFAIRS AT LA BAYE; OFFICER DROWNED; THE SIOUX POST

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, cor. gén., C 11, vol. 95, fol. 199."]

QUEBEC, August 18, 1750.

MONSEIGNEUR—I had the honor to inform you by the letter I had the honor of writing you on the 9th of October, 1749, jointly with Monsieur Bigot, that in consequence of the promise made by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere to the savage nations of la Baye des Puants to no longer farm out the said post, we should have it exploited by license. I have given the command of the post to the Sieur Marin, the elder, who left on the first of June to go and take possession with two canoes on the King's account, and a detachment of ten soldiers. I had presents for three years placed in the said canoes and these he will distribute to the nations of la Baye, of the Sioux, and the others into whose country he may penetrate.

You were also informed by the same letter that I had intended to have the said Sieur Marin establish a post among the Sioux in accordance with their desire.

Thus, Monseigneur, all that remains to be done is that I should have the honor to report to you the orders I have given him. I append a copy of the instructions I handed him.

In the first place, I charged the said Sieur Marin to do his best to restore peace and harmony between the nations of la Baye and the Sioux, and to bring about a peace between the latter nation and the Saulteux of Chouagamigon.

Such a negotiation is very important, inasmuch as it is essential for the good of trade and the safety of the French that all those nations should be in perfect accord. There are no officers better able to conciliate their minds than the said Sieur Marin. Moreover, the abundance of goods taken to the said post by the eight canoes that went there under licenses, will contribute not a little to renewing the attachment of those nations to the French. They have already been turned away

from their duty by the rebellion and conspiracy that they formed in 1749, when they took up arms against the Sieur de Verchères, then their commandant. For this reason it is necessary that I neglect nothing to renew a feeling of loyalty in them. I trust that the Sieur Marin will have no difficulty in succeeding in this. The folles avoines, the Puants, the Saulteux, the Renarts and the Sioux who dwell in the region of la Baye have assured me of their fidelity and complete submission in the council I held with them at Quebec on the 27th of last month, a copy whereof I append to this.

I had proposed to send the Sieur Marin, the younger, commandant at Choagamigon, as second in command at la Baye, as his father had asked me, and to replace him in the former post by the Sieur Millon[6] who was in command at la Baye; but, on the one hand, I learned that the said Sieur Millon was dead, and, on the other, the farmers of said Choagamigon begged me to leave them the said Sieur Marin. This compelled me to retain him there, and to send in his stead the Sieur Desjordy Villebon, a second ensign, who is very fit for the position.

The death of the said Sieur Millon was rather tragic. That officer was hunting on the 21st of last October in the lower part of a river half a league from the fort, in a small canoe. As he did not return, the Sieur de Combre, a gentleman cadet who was acting as an officer under his orders,[7] fearing that he

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[6] Pierre Mathurin, Sieur Millon, belonged to a poor but ancient family in France, and came to Canada as a subordinate officer in the company of Lantagnac. Desiring to remain in the colony he petitioned for office in the colonial army, and in 1733 was made a cadet. In 1738 he was promoted to second ensign, and the following year to a full ensignship; in 1748 he became lieutenant. He had served as a subordinate at Crown Point in 1744, and must have been a good officer to have received command at La Baye in these times of stress. His tragic death, as here chronicled, adds to the historic interest of the French regime in Wisconsin.—Ed.

[7] Charles René Desjordy, Sieur de Villebon, is mentioned as aide-de-camp in 1758. He was married about 1752, and in 1754 was at Mack-

might have met with an accident, had a search made for him. Nothing was found but his overturned canoe at a place called les Islet without rudder, mast, sails, or ropes, and four days afterward some Saulteux of la grosse Isle brought to the said Sieur de Combre the sail of the said Canoe which they had found fastened to its mast at la pointe aux Sables, about two leagues from the fort.[8] Nothwithstanding all the efforts of the said Sieur de Combre, he was unable to find the body of the said Sieur Millon until the 15th of last May. There were many rumors as regards the manner in which he came to his death. He thought he might have been killed by the Savages, but there were no wounds on his body beyond those inflicted by birds, the marks of whose beaks could be seen on the head and other parts of the body; so that there is every reason to believe that he was drowned, as the small size of his canoe and the heavy wind that blew on the day of his departure would allow of no other conclusion. The Sieur de Combre who has been in command of the said post since the death of the said Sieur Millon, has performed the duty most satisfactorily and has sent me a very good report on all that has happened. I have every reason to be satisfied with him. He brought here the nations of the said post, and I sent him to take them back to their country.

I return to Sieur Marin. As soon as he has put everything

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inac. At the close of the war he held the rank of lieutenant, and was drowned on the ill-fated "Auguste," November, 1761.

Charles Porcheron, Sieur de Combre, was promoted to an ensignship in 1751. Born in Angoulême, France, he was married at Quebec in 1763. He appears to have served on the eastern frontier during the French and Indian War.—Ed.

[8] Les Islets were doubtless the small islands not far from the exit of Fox River into Green Bay. Point Sable, still known by the same name, is about six miles below the mouth of the Fox, on the east coast of the bay.

Grosse Isle was Michillimackinac Island, where there was a well-known settlement of Chippewa (Saulteur); see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 462, note 4.—Ed.

in order at the post of La Baye, he will instruct the Sieur Desjordy Villebon to take command during his absence, after which he will go to the Sioux and make every effort to induce them to make peace with the Cristinos and to send back to the Sieur de St. Pierre the son of a Cristinos Chief whom they hold captive. He will correspond with the Sieur de St. Pierre on the subject.

The said Sieur Marin will select the site that may appear to him most suitable for the erection of a stone fort, in which he will have the necessary lodgings built for his garrison and for the voyageurs who will trade with the Sioux. He will distribute to the latter the presents I have entrusted him with on the King's account. I have also given him some medals wherewith to decorate the chiefs of that nation who may be the most influential and the most zealous in favor of the French.

I have not confined myself to the Sioux establishment. I have also ordered the Sieur Marin to start from that post, leaving the command thereof, as soon as he shall have put it in good order, to such person as he may deem suitable, in order to go to the upper Missisipi, and as far as its source, both to open trade with the nations dwelling there, and to discover the mines, placers, and minerals that may exist there. It is certain that the trade we might carry on with those nations would be very advantageous, and might hereafter become very considerable, all the more so that, in order to save expense in the conveyance of the furs, it would be easy to send them to France via Louisiana.

The said Sieur Marin will at the same time ascertain from the Savages inhabiting the upper portion of the Missisipi whether they have any knowledge of the western sea and of the means to be taken to penetrate thither.

I have likewise charged him to go or send to the source of the Missouri, and to the height of land of the same to endeavor to find a river flowing towards the west, whereby we may perhaps succeed in discovering the said Western sea.

You will observe, Monseigneur, that all the orders I have

given the said Sieur Marin cannot but have a very good effect in every respect.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant.

LAIONQUIÈRE.

1750: COUNCILS WITH TRIBESMEN; REPORTS FROM UPPER POSTS

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 20, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 237.]

QUEBEC, September 20, 1750.

MONSEIGNEUR—I have the honor to reply to the letter you did me the honor of writing me on the 31st of May last.

As Monsieur the comte de la Galissonière had given the command of the post of Missilimakinack for three years to the Sieur Duplessis Fabert, I did not deem it advisable to relieve him last year, all the more so that he is the senior captain and is exceedingly poor. I reproached him however for his fault in having bought brandy at an exorbitant price when he could have got it cheaper. I warned him that if he gave me the slightest cause of dissatisfaction, I would not hesitate to relieve him and even to have the honor to report to you on his conduct. I am not aware that he has behaved wrongly as yet, but if he abuse my confidence I will recall him and put another commandant in his place. I know, Monseigneur, that it is only by such examples that I can restrain the officers, and you may rest assured that I shall not hesitate to make the same, whenever necessity arises, having nothing more at heart than the fulfilment, on all points, of everything you do me the honor to order me to do.

The Sieur Duplessis reports that the greater portion of the nations in the neighborhood of his post, have gone to the English, passing by Sault Ste Marie, taking over 300 packages of furs there; that the English are causing collars to be intro-

duced among the nations by the Iroquois, in order to make them dissatisfied with the trade they carry on with the French and make them averse to the latter. I trust their actions will have no untoward consequences thanks to the precautions I have ordered the said Sieur Duplessis to take to avert them. Moreover, in the councils I held at Montreal on the 29th of June and 4th of July last with the Outaouois Kiskakons, Saulteux, Outaouois of the band of la fourche, and other savage bands of the said post, I strongly advised them to have nothing to do with the English, and to trade with the French only. They all seemed to me to be animated with the best dispositions and promised me to remain always faithful to the King's will. I shall be greatly mistaken if they fail to keep their word. I append a copy of the said councils.

You will also find, Monseigneur, hereunto annexed a copy of the council I held at Montreal on the 29th of June with the Poutetouamis and Sakis of the river St. Joseph. As those nations are equally well disposed towards the French, nothing of interest has happened at the said post. I had given the command of it to the Sieur de Repentigny, but as you have been pleased to procure him a company in the Louisbourg troops, I have sent him an order to come down early in the spring, and he will leave at once to join his garrison.[9]

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[9] Pierre Jean Baptiste François Xavier le Gardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, was eldest son of the Lieutenant de Repentigny killed (1733) at La Baye. Born in 1719, elder brother of Louis, known as the "Chevalier," he entered the colonial army as second ensign in 1734; in 1742 he had the rank of full ensign, and in 1748 that of lieutenant. In that year occurred the unfortunate affair so noted in the *Chien d'Or* story, wherein this officer, in a quarrel over lodgings, killed Philibert, a citizen of Quebec. While being tried, he was serving in the army at Fort St. Frédéric and raiding into northern New York. Pardoned by the grace of the king, he was sent to St. Josephs as here indicated, and in 1750, having been promoted to a captaincy, went to serve at Louisburg. While there he took charge of an expedition against Newfoundland, and in 1757 received the cross of St. Louis. After the conquest he retired to France, and became governor of Mahé, in French India, where he died in 1776.—Ed.

I have already had the honor to report to you, in the letter I had the honor to write you in connection with the mission of the Sieur Marin to la Baye and to the Sioux, on the council I held with the nations of that post, and you will see by their words that they submitted to all I could have desired of them, and that last year a Sakis chief had one of his nephews killed by another nephew to avenge the insult to the French—that is to the Sieur de Verchères, then commandant of the said post.

You will also see, Monseigneur, by my letter of the first of August last, that the mission of the Sieur de Celoron to la Belle Rivière has had quite a different effect from that expected by Monsieur the Comte de la Galissonière; that, on the contrary, the nations have gathered together in that region, that they are in greater numbers and more angry than ever against the French; and that, although he summoned the English to withdraw and forbade them to come back, they nevertheless continue their trade with those nations and even urge them to attack the French. I have nothing to add to what I had the honor to write you on that occasion.[10]

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With regard to the other northern posts dependent on Missilimakinack, nothing worthy of note has happened, all is fairly quiet there. The Saulteux of la pointe de Chouagamigon came to see me. They promised me a great deal and to strive to get a collar sent to me that I was told the Saulteux of Sault Ste. Marie had accepted from the English.

I append a copy of their words and of my replies.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIÈRE.

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[10] See Croghan's report of his councils at Logstown (Chiningué) in *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 53-71.—ED.

1750: REGULATIONS FOR THE FUR-TRADE

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 29, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 282.]

QUEBEC, September 29, 1750.

MONSEIGNEUR—As the trade of the upper country requires the strictest attention on my part, I have earnestly endeavored to obtain all the necessary knowledge to enable me to strive effectively to make it flourish, by remedying the abuses that have so far crept into it.

In the first place, I issued an ordinance on the 29th of last May, to put an end to the infringements of the prohibitions inserted in the licenses, to prevent the farmers and voyageurs encroaching upon one another's rights, to stop the coureurs de bois, to forbid the trade carried on by certain voyageurs with the English, and finally to divert the savage nations from the said trade.

At the meeting I held with all the traders of Montreal, I gave them communication of the said ordinance although I had already caused it to be published and posted up, in order that they might know for themselves the line of conduct to be followed by them and by their employees.

The most wily men in the fur-trade did not allow a single article of the said ordinance to pass without raising objections tending solely to their own interest and directly opposed to the good policy I intend to establish. Consequently, I paid no heed to their representations.

I convinced them, however, that I was acting solely in view of the general good of the trade, and that the advantages connected therewith might be mutual. I entered with them fully into the matter as well as into details respecting the farming or the exploitation of all the posts. The more wealthy maintained stoutly that they should be farmed out (a proof of their cupidity); others thought that exploitation by licenses would place everybody in a position to trade and would greatly contribute to attract the nations to us; finally they were

united in asking a decrease in the price of the licenses, while those who are best known insisted upon their being reduced to a very small number.

To all this they added that as the supply of the Company's cloth was insufficient, this might keep the nations away. The latter reason did not fail to impress me, but how was it possible to satisfy them all when there is so small a quantity of that cloth in the warehouses of the beaver trade? I could not do better than distribute all there was, and promise to deliver them all they needed as soon as the Company's ship arrived.

Having, in the presence of the said traders, fixed both the number and the price of the licenses, I told them I would send off their canoes in several convoys under the command of officers, who would be going in the same direction, and that they were to prepare themselves so as to lose no time.

But, instead of hastening, they postponed their departure hoping to escape the discipline I cause to be observed. A commandant of a convoy puts them out extremely! The liberty to do as they choose and to get rich no matter how. strongly holds their heart! They are not fond of subordination, and thereby make themselves very liable to it; they have left no means untried to escape it.

As foreign trade has always done considerable injury to the Colony, and as I must make corresponding efforts to abolish it, I issued on the same day, the 29th of May, an ordinance by which I forbade the said trade, and ordered the governors and commandants of neighboring posts to seize all persons, whether French or savages, who may introduce the prohibited goods into the country or export them to New England. I append copies of both ordinances.

The publication by my order of the latter ordinance and the measures I took to have it strictly enforced, did not fail to cause uneasiness among those traders, and the example of the demoiselles Desauniers,[11] who are related by marriage to the

[11] The Demoiselles Desaulniers had a store at the mission of Sault St. Louis, where in conjunction with the Jesuit father, Jean Baptiste

best known among them and who have always been thoroughly in league with them for the carrying on of such trade, did not allow those traders to conceal the trouble caused them by what I have done. They have become rich partly by that illicit trade, either by getting their beaver skins fraudulently conveyed by the Savages to the English, who pay them a high price for it; or by obtaining from them cloths and calicoes etc with which there is hardly a house that is not furnished.

I have even heard that they said among themselves that nothing less was wanting but the ordinances I issued to prevent them from increasing their fortunes. Their cupidity is unpardonable. There is probably no country in Europe where a more lucrative trade is carried on.

In fact, apart from what they ship on their own account, these traders fit out voyageurs to whom, in peace time, they give goods at an advance of from 20 to 25 per cent above the usual Quebec rate; they compel them to give them their furs in payment at the rate of the tariff they make among themselves in Montreal, and obtain a profit of from 25 to 30 per cent by selling them in Quebec. Should not this be a sufficient limit for those traders?

My zeal for the King's service and my promptness in informing you of everything, compel me, Monseigneur, to enter into all these details.

I trust that the strict enforcement by the commandants in the upper country of the ordinance I have issued, and the punishment I will inflict on all offenders, will restore order.

It is very likely that I shall have to make an example in connection with article 4 of the said ordinance if what has been reported to me is proven true by the commandant of Detroit, that is to say if I receive a report of the seizure of 200 pieces of English cloth sent, without my knowledge, by the Montreal merchants to the Southern posts. I discovered this

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Tournois, they carried on a profitable but illicit fur-trade with the English merchants at Albany. La Jonquière finally broke up this traffic and sent the two women and the Jesuit to France.—Ed.

fact as follows: As soon as the Company's ship arrived, I sent to Montreal a number of pieces of English cloth, and I gave the merchants permission to forward them to Detroit. This they did not do because there was some of English manufacture there already; and I have been told that, while the merchants were representing to me that the supply of cloth was insufficient, they had the English cloth in their possession and shipped it off quietly during the night.

Regarding the ordinance I issued with respect to foreign trade, I am sparing no effort to have it produce the desired effect. The chiefs of the savages of the Sault have promised me to denounce the Frenchmen who may employ their people to convey beaver skins to New England, and that they would make them consent to hand me over their cargoes, the confiscation whereof I will grant with a good reward. I do not rely implicitly on that promise and I am having a watch constantly kept to surprise some offender.

That is all I can do. A great deal more cloth is indispensably needed than the Company sends. It should, if possible, be as fine as that of the English, and a little cheaper, while the price of beaver skins should be raised. I admit that these two propositions can hardly agree, but I think the Company would find compensation when the receipts of beaver skins would become greater, when they could sell them dearer and the supplies obtained by the English would be greatly lessened.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

[illegible]

1750: AFFAIRS AT DETROIT

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Oct. 10, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 282.]

QUEBEC, October 10, 1750.

MONSEIGNEUR—I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the instructions I gave Monsieur de Celoron, the commandant at Detroit, by which you will see that I know all the advantages of that post, and that I neglect nothing to make it most flourishing.

The Sieur de Celoron arrived there safely with his convoy. He has not had time to carry out what I ordered him to do by his instructions, nor to send me a very detailed report on Detroit and the conditions of its inhabitants.

He merely writes me that he will set to work to settle the new inhabitants he has taken with him, and will give them every facility in his power to promote their settlement; that, inasmuch as those who were there last year were unable to subsist with their crops, he has continued to supply them with the provisions the King is pleased to allow them until the first of February 1751.

He writes me also that the crop has been fairly abundant, and that grain would have been cheap had not His Majesty been obliged to incur expense for the maintenance of the garrison, of the militia and of the families for which there would not have been enough without the supplies he received from the post of Niagara; that the mills cannot work through lack of water, and that it is expedient to build one on the rouge river.[12] He has suggested to me the name of an individual who would undertake to build it on condition that he be given every facility as regards transport of the necessary mill-stones, and that he have the ownership thereof. Monsieur Bigot with whom I have conferred has agreed with me that it would be more advantageous to have the mill built for the King.

Reverend Father La Richardie was to start with some sav-

[12] Rouge River is a small stream in Wayne County, just below Detroit.—ED.

ages of note to endeavor to recall the rebel hurons whose chief Nicolas is dead.[13] I trust his mission will be successful.

With regard to other matters, the said Sieur de Celoron has done everything in accordance with what I had the honor to write you in my letter of the first of August last, to which I have nothing to add in connection with the other Southern posts.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIÈRE.

1750-51: MARIN'S WESTERN JOURNEY

[Letter from La Jonquière and Bigot to the French minister, dated Oct. 20, 1750. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 89.]

QUEBEC, October 20, 1750.

MONSEIGNEUR—We have the honor to reply to the letter you wrote us on the 15th of April last.[14]

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We do not think, Monseigneur, that the Sieur Marin induced the Nations of La Baye to ask that that post be exploited by licenses; and, as Monsieur the comte de Laglissonière had adopted their suggestion, Monsieur de Lajonquière could not suspect the Sieur Marin of having any share therein, and he determined to give him his confidence as commandant of that post because he is the most experienced officer to keep those nations in our interest, being loved and respected by them. You will have seen by the reports that Monsieur de Lajonquière has had the honor to send you, that the said Sieur Marin is not to confine himself to the command of la Baye, and that he is to hand it over to the Sieur Desjordy Villebon after he has performed the mission entrusted to him by that General.

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[13] See brief sketch of this chief, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 280.—ED.

[14] The omitted portions relate to the post at Toronto, and its efficacy in interrupting the trade with Oswego.—ED.

The journey the said Sieur Marin is to make to the Sioux country cannot but have a very good effect as regards the interests of the colony. The Nations of that region Are very numerous, And it would have been impossible to find an officer better able to unite Them in friendship with the French. He is known to all those nations, and possesses the faculty of making himself loved and feared by them. He has foreseen no danger of any kind, and has departed in full confidence that he will be able to carry out the instructions of Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière on all points. All these reasons have urged him to hasten his departure, And we Trust that he Will be well received by those Nations and will inspire them with the dispositions that are desirable for the welfare and the Tranquility of this country. Moreover, this will cost the King only a few presents that have been delivered to that officer to distribute advisedly and sparingly among the Nations into Whose midst he will penetrate.

The Sieur Marin will push His discoveries still further. Monsieur de Lajonquière has ordered Him to go to the Source of the Missisipy River to see whether there is not some river flowing from its water-shed to fall into the Western sea.

We have Had no news respecting The step to be taken by The Company of the Indies in connection with the Beaver Trade in Canada, although we told you we were to receive some.

We remain with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servants

LAIONQUIÈRE
BIGOT.

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 16, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. 97, folio 65.]

QUEBEC, September 16, 1751.

MONSEIGNEUR—I had the honor to report by my letter of the 18th of August of last year that I had given the command of La Baye and among the Sioux to the Sieur Marin, captain

of infantry; and I likewise informed you of the importance of all the objects of his mission.

The said Sieur Marin, in obedience to my orders, proceeded to la Baye where he re-established harmony between the nations of that post and the Sioux.

Neither among the folles avoines nor among the Puants, did he find any of those worthless and troublesome individuals who have been in the habit of taking refuge there. He told them that they must not harbor any more of them. Those nations replied that, as they could not drive them away by force without exposing themselves to quarrels, they would notify them of my intentions and urge them to withdraw to their own villages.

A numerous band of Puants went on the war-path against the Missouris at the beginning of the month of March. They left without the knowledge of the Sieur Marin, having kept their plans very secret. I hope that, on their return, he will induce them to stop the war and to make peace.

The folle avoine chief called la Mothe,[15] who came to see me in Montreal, promised me he would make every effort to stop those bands. I append a copy of his words and of my replies.

Several other war parties had been formed to attack the said Missouris, but fortunately the Sieur Marin heard of it at the beginning of the spring and, with the assistance of a folle avoine chief, he stopped the bands. He also succeeded so well in appeasing those nations that the folles avoines, in their regret at having formed those bands against my will,

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[15] In King George's War, La Mothe led a raid against Albany; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs*, x, p. 122. He founded a prominent family of Menominee chiefs, who probably took their name from some connection with La Mothe Cadillac. La Mothe served under the French in the Seven Years' War, being conspicuous in the siege of Fort William Henry (1757). A chief of that name joined the Americans against Black Hawk in 1832, and signed the treaty of 1848. He was known as the second chief of the nation, and leader of the Roman Catholic party in the tribe.—Ed.

wanted to strangle a Saulteux of la grosse Isle who had induced them to take that step.

An Outaouois and a Saulteux of Missilimakinack brought English Brandy to those nations. The Sieur Marin seized their casks, as it was to be presumed that this was a present given them by the English. I wrote to Monsieur Duplessis Fabert on the subject who will inform those savages of my displeasure regarding their action.

The Sieur Marin went to the Sioux country, where he explained to them my speech and my intentions.

He was very well received by that nation. It is at peace with the Saulteux, folles avoines, and other nations that wintered on its lands.

A prairie Sioux, while on the war-path against the Illinois, within the past few years, killed a Frenchman called Marin Urtubize.[16] The Sieur Marin wanted to have the murderer delivered over to him. The nation made every possible apology; it had driven away the murderer and it was not known what has become of him.

The Sioux handed over to the Sieur Marin the son of the Christinos chief whom they had held captive for some years. The young man did not wish to leave that nation. The Sieur Marin will do his best this year to persuade him to return to his country and the Sioux chiefs not to keep him among them. He will send him back to Monsieur de St. Pierre.[17] I hope the Sioux will not hesitate to conclude their peace with the Cris-

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[16] Edward D. Neill, in *Macalester College Contributions*, i, p. 215, notes a probable descendant of this man at Prairie du Chien in 1815. A Pierre Hurtibize is mentioned in Mackinac Register, *post*.—Ed.

[17] It was not until 1753 that this captive was finally returned to his own people. St. Pierre writes, July 10 of that year: "I found at the lake of the Woods, with the Cristinaux of that post, two of their people, who had been a long time prisoners among the Sioux of the Rivers and of the Lakes, who had sent them back to carry their message to the Cristinaux in order to prove to them their great desire to live in concord with them."—Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, vi, p. 650.—Ed.

tinos, as they have not raised any band of warriors against that nation and have promised the Sieur Marin to do his will.

The said Sieur Marin was unable to go to the upper Missisipy, and to its source because the nations of la Baye and the Sioux who came to see me last year, urgently begged him to wait for them at la Baye and those nations only returned very late.

Moreover, he found the nations of La Baye in a state of very great uneasiness; none of the nations wished to withdraw to its own village. A rumor (probably due to the English) had spread that I had detained the last Sioux who visited me in Montreal in order to put them to death; and this had caused such alarm that, to reassure those nations, the Sieur Marin was compelled to remain with them; otherwise there was reason to fear that they might have been guilty of violence against the French.

After the Sioux arrived the Sieur Marin told all the nations how wrong they had been in crediting such a rumor. He reminded them of His Majesty's kindness to them; and left at once to undertake the discoveries I had ordered, but he was stopped by the ice and was compelled to winter at Lake Papin.

He writes me that he will make every possible effort this year to effect such discoveries. The Sioux have promised to accompany him and have told him that it was advisable to wait until Monsieur de St. Pierre had quieted the nations on the Missisipy.

I particularly charged the Sieur Marin to spare no effort to discover a copper mine said to be on the rivière du Bon Secours,[18] and, if he succeeds in finding it, to send specimens to Monsieur de Vaudreuil to be forwarded to you.[19]

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[18] The river Bon Secours has been correctly identified with the present Chippewa River of Wisconsin. But it should also be noted that it is the same stream as that called by the early explorers "River des Bœufs," now known as Beef River (Wis.). The mouth of the Chippewa has shifted since the seventeenth century—see Elliott Coues, *Ex-*

[19] Vaudreuil was then governor of the colony of Louisiana.—Ed.

The Sieur Marin has likewise distributed the presents I had delivered to him last year. He has decorated several chiefs with the King's medal and has impressed them with the greatness of His Majesty's generosity to them.

Although the nations of la Baye have been much disturbed, the voyageurs have carried on a good trade with their goods at that place and there is every appearance that the trade will increase.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant

LAIONQUIÈRE.

1751: REPORTS FROM THE NORTHERN POSTS

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 17, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 69.]

QUEBEC, September 17, 1751.

MONSEIGNEUR—I have the honor to report to you on the matters of interest that have occurred at the post of Missilimakinack and its dependencies.

I had the honor to inform you last year, by my letter of the 20th of September, of the great quantity of furs taken by the nations of that post to the English, and of the collars the English were causing to be introduced among those nations by

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peditions of Zebulon M. Pike (New York, 1895), i, p. 58—when it entered the Mississippi at the southern end of what is now called Beef Slough. This would make Beef River but a tributary of the Chippewa. Note the description given by La Salle in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 180. On some of the old maps the names are given as alternates, "Bon Secours ou Bœuf" River. Le Sueur in 1700 (*Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184) gives the reason for its name (Goodhelp) in the large number of buffalo and other game found thereon. He also mentions the copper mine from which he claims to have carried ore on a previous voyage. To this alleged discovery is doubtless due the instruction here given to Sieur Marin.—ED.

means of the Iroquois to divert them from their trade with the French and to indispose them towards the latter.

The orders I did not cease sending to Monsieur Duplessis Fabert in connection with this, have not failed to have a fairly good effect. He succeeded in inducing one Noukouata to break off his relations with the English. He got back a collar he had received from them. This brought about the failure of a plan got up by a great many of the warriors to devote themselves entirely to the English, and follow the said Noukouata everywhere if he accepted the position of chief offered him by the English.

You will see, Monseigneur, by the annexed words of the Kiskakons on the 5th of July, and by my replies, that the said Noukouata seems very repentant for his offence.

I have the honor to send you hereunto annexed the council I held with the Outaouois Sinagos on the same day, at which I Asked them and the Kiskakons to strike a blow at our rebels on la Belle rivière. They promised me they would send a band of their young men as soon as they should reach their village. Thereupon I gave precise orders to Monsieur Duplessis.[20]

The said Sieur Duplessis also got possession of a medal, a collar, and an English flag that a Saulteux of note had accepted, together with a collar the English had given the Outaouois.

In obedience to my orders he stopped a band of Saulteux of the Beaver tribe who had sung the war-song at his post.

He did not meet with the same success in connection with the Saulteux of la Grosse Isle, a party of whom went to attack the Illinois at the request of the Poutetouatamis probably from the river of Chikagou, for those of the river St. Joseph did not leave their village.

The most unfortunate part is, that one of the said Saulteux

[20] This shows the origin of the attack (1752) on Pickawillany; see *post*.—Ed.

killed a Frenchman on the river of the Illinois at le Rocher.[21] Those Saulteux discovered four cabins of the Illinois and determined to attack them at dawn. There was nobody in those cabins but a Frenchman who was found after a careful search. A savage of the band threw his arms around the Frenchman to protect him, and called out to the others that it was a Frenchman, but he was too late. The Frenchman received at the same instant a gunshot that stretched him on the ground and burned the skin of the savage who tried to protect him. That Frenchman's name was Jean Brossat.

The Saulteux went in a body to report this unfortunate affair to Monsieur Duplessis in the same terms. They begged pardon of him. He refused to receive their words and told them they must address themselves directly to me.

The Saulteux claim that the Frenchman was killed without premeditation, and that, when the savage was called to, he had already pulled the trigger of his gun.

Nevertheless, Monsieur Duplessis wrote me on the 16th of last month that the murder had been committed through rank treachery; that the Saulteux and the people of l'Isle des poux[22] had gone to Chikagou to join the Poutetouatamis who had asked them to unite in a war-party; that they set out and, having met the Frenchman, they ate and drank with him, and then killed him.

I am giving orders to Monsieur Duplessis to tell the Saulteux that I will not allow the death of that Frenchman to go unpunished; that they must absolutely come to Montreal themselves next year to deliver me the murderer at discretion, and that, if they fail to do so, I will avenge the death and grant them no quarter.

Next year I will inquire closely into the matter and, if that savage really committed the deed through treachery, I will have his head broken, such a step being indispensable.

The guard-house of fort Missilimakinack has been destroyed

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21 For this landmark see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 100.—Ed.

22 For this island see *Ibid.*, p. 359.—Ed.

by fire caused by smokers. The damage has been repaired, and each voyageur has supplied a stake for the purpose.

As the fort is in need of many repairs, I have permitted the Sieur Duplessis to have it enlarged on the Lake side, to have a new guard-house built, and some other repairs made which will cost the King nothing, as I have given the said Sieur Duplessis orders to employ therefor the proceeds of the sale of some building lots, and if such moneys be insufficient, he will make the voyageurs contribute in equal shares.

The best news I can have the honor to give you, Monseigneur, is that of the return of the Outaouois Sinagos who, for some years past, had taken refuge at Saguinau where they killed some Frenchmen. Since I have been in the Colony, I have never ceased to order Monsieur Duplessis to take every means to recall them. He succeeded in doing so last spring. He received them very kindly and you will see by their annexed words, dated the 13th of July, how earnestly they sued for pardon, which I granted them.

They told me that another band of the said Outaouois had withdrawn to Detroit where it had been very well received by Monsieur de Celoron to whom I had given the same orders as to Monsieur Duplessis; but Monsieur de Celoron says nothing to me about it.

There are still a number of Saulteux at Saguinau. The Outaouois Sinagos have promised me to make every possible effort to get them to return to their former village at Missilimakinack. Monsieur Duplessis has orders to neglect nothing on his part.

I have given the command of the post at the river St. Joseph to the Sieur de la Corne La Colombière[23] in the place of

[23] Antoine la Corne, Sieur de la Colombière, was born in 1708, one of the brothers in a famous family that faithfully served New France. Becoming a junior officer in 1734, he was promoted in 1739, and in 1748 secured his lieutenancy. The service here noted was apparently his first in a Western fort. In 1753 he was promoted to a captaincy, and was employed in scouting (1756) with a considerable force on Lake

the Sieur de Repentigny who is to join his garrison at Louisbourg this year.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has told them the trouble he took to prevent the nations of his post from going to avenge the death of the Poutetouatamis killed by the Illinois. He succeeded in doing so. Those nations sent le Crapaud, the sister of the deceased, and an Illinois Chief of the village of St. Joseph, decorated with a medal, to the Illinois to settle the matter amicably. I have no doubt as to the success of their journey because I had already given orders to Monsieur de Benoist St. Clin, the commandant at fort Chartres, to induce the Illinois to send deputies to St. Joseph to cover and weep for the dead, to apologize to the nation and to make peace.

I learned last spring that one of the Poutetouatamis chiefs of St. Joseph who came to see me last year went with his band to Chouaguen after leaving Montreal; that he received a speech from the English on behalf of the Chaouanons, the Misamis, and other nations that have taken refuge at la Belle rivière, with a blue blanket ornamented with porcelain designs and considerable presents to invite them to join their party and betray the French; and that this Chief and his band seemed disposed to meet the views of the rebels. I am giving orders to the Sieur de La Corne to take cognizance of this matter, to prevent its having any consequences, to get back the speech and the blanket and send them to me.

The Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde,[24] commandant at Camanestigouya and Michipicotton has reported to me that, in obe-

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Champlain. The next year he was for his services awarded the cross of St. Louis. He was commended by Montcalm as a very zealous officer. At the battle of the Heights of Abraham he was captured by the English, and after that nothing seems known of him. He had married in 1744 Marguerite Petit, widow of Sieur Rocbert.—Ed.

[24] Louis Liénard, Sieur de Beaujeu Villemonde was brother of the hero of Braddock's defeat. Born in 1716, he entered the army at the age of sixteen, was ensign in full by 1738, and lieutenant in 1744; his captaincy dated from 1751, and the cross of St. Louis was awarded him in 1759. At the beginning of King George's War he was a sub-

dience to my orders, he has succeeded in restoring peace and tranquility among the Savages of his post, and in preventing them from going on the war-path against the Sioux. This corresponds exactly with what the Sieur Marin has written me in connection with the matter.

The said Sieur de Beaujeu informs me at the same time that out of forty savages at the post of Michipicotton, thirty-four have died and the remaining six have gone in the direction of Hudson's bay.

Nothing of interest has occurred with regard to the post of Chouagamigon; all is very quiet there.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIÈRE.

1751: REPORTS FROM THE SOUTHWESTERN POSTS

[Letter of La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Sept. 25, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 82.]

QUEBEC, September 25, 1751.

MONSEIGNEUR—I have been informed of everything worthy of interest that has occurred in the Illinois country by the letters written to me by Monsieur de Benoist St. Clin, commandant of fort Chartres, on the 28th of May, 1750, the 4th of

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ordinate at Niagara, and served in Acadia during its later campaigns. After his term of service at Kaministiquia, he was transferred to Mackinac (1753). Displaced by Herbin (1754-57) he returned to this post, where he remained until the surrender of New France (1760) to the English, when he retired via the Illinois, spending the winter of 1760-61 with the Sauk and Fox Indians at Rock River. He was reputed to have "made a rapid fortune at the Posts." Visiting France, he returned (1763) via Louisiana to Canada. There he was vigorous (1775) in opposition to the American troops. His home was a manor at Isle aux Grues, where he died June 5, 1802. His widow, a daughter of Chevalier de Longueuil, died in Montreal in 1803.—ED.

March, 9th and 22nd of May of this year. I shall have the honor to report to you on the same.

I had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by my letter of the 8th of October, 1750, that Monsieur de St. Clin had obtained satisfaction for the murder committed by the Petits Ossages[25] on the person of a Frenchman called Giguière who was hunting on the upper part of the rivière des Moens; that the nation had put the murderer to death and had sent his scalp to the said Sieur de St. Clin. Since then the Missouris[26] have spread a report that the Petits Ossages had killed the brother of the guilty man and that the latter, who had at first disappeared, had returned to the village. When the petits Ossages heard of this, they seized the real murderer and brought him bound to Monsieur de St. Clin. A chief of the Missouris and 15 men of the nation were there; and, although they were the first to reveal the mistake of the petits Ossages, they said they had no positive knowledge of it. But the petits Ossages, being sure that the innocent had perished for the guilty, begged

[25] The Osage are a large tribe of Siouan stock, who migrated from the mouth of the Missouri, separating from kindred tribes at the river called by their name. They ascended this river, and again divided into Grand Osage (those who camped on the mountain), and Petit Osage (those who camped at the base). The latter occupied the valley of the Little Osage, and the Kansas plains to the westward. The Osage were mentioned by early explorers; Perrot and Le Sueur speak of them in the seventeenth century. Early in the eighteenth they appear in alliance with the Illinois, against the Renards. In 1719 Du Tisné visited this tribe, and the alliance then concluded was strengthened by De Bourgmont at Fort Orleans. They were thus considered French Indians, and under the care of the Louisiana colony.—Ed.

[26] The Missouri were of Siouan stock, and once inhabited the mouth of the river that bears their name. About the beginning of the eighteenth century they removed their chief village to the neighborhood of Grand River, Mo., where Fort Orleans was built in their midst. They were a powerful tribe until early in the nineteenth century, when the Foxes and Sauk nearly annihilated them with harassing wars. The small remnant retreated to their kinsmen the Oto, and lived among them, finally coalescing with the latter tribe.—Ed.

Monsieur de St. Clin to send the Sieur de Portneuf[27] to their village to be a witness of the death of the innocent and of the guilty. Nothing can be added to the submission of those petits Ossages; their rectitude surpasses everything that can be expected of a savage nation.

The Grands Ossages, who are as haughty as the petits Ossages are submissive, have met with an unexpected check. The Panis Noirs and Picques[28] against whom they are continually at war and one of whose villages they entirely completed the destruction begun by measles and smallpox, begged the assistance of the Laytannes, a nation in the neighborhood of the Spaniards.[29] That nation, moved by their condition, joined them and both together came to a village of the grands Ossages at a time when a portion of their people were at the

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[27] Apparently the second in command at the post. This appears to be Pierre Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf, noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 135. He was second ensign in 1733, full ensign 1741, lieutenant 1748, and captain 1757. Having gone to Louisiana in the campaign of 1739-40, he seems to have remained in that colony. In 1753 he led a detachment from the Illinois to reinforce Marin, but was turned back at the Scioto by the hostility of the Shawnee. After the close of the war, he appears to have made his home at New Orleans.—Ed.

[28] The Pawnee (Pani) Indians were a large tribe located chiefly west of the Missouri, in the present state of Nebraska. They were of Caddoan origin, and at enmity both with the Siouan tribes and the Illinois. The two portions of the tribe here mentioned were known to the Americans as Grand Pawnee and Pawnee Picts. The latter were occasionally designated White Pawnee, hence the antithesis—Pawnee Noirs (black). The Pawnee Picts are commonly known as Wichita. Their habitat in the nineteenth century was a considerable distance southwest of that of the Grand Pawnee, or Pawnee proper.—Ed.

[29] The Ietans (Laytannes), more commonly known as Comanche, a wandering tribe that inhabited the foothills of the Rockies and the plains to the east. They were in contact, frequently in conflict, with the Spanish of New Mexico. They also were usually in hostile relations to the Pawnee. Of Shoshoni stock, they nevertheless were allied with the Arapaho, Kiowa, and Cheyenne. For a good description see "Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies," in *Early Western Travels*, xx, pp. 341-352.—Ed.

Cerne (Surround) killing animals;[30] they fell upon them and so sharp was the attack that the grands Ossages lost 22 of their chiefs, while the others left 27 of their people on the field of battle. This action made the grands Ossages reflect; they went to see Monsieur de St. Clin to weep for the death of their chiefs. He gave them a small present to console them.

The grands Ossages left no effort untried to induce the Illinois to join them to go and avenge the death of their people, but Monsieur de St. Clin, to prevent their solicitations having any effect, represented to the Illinois that the Panis Noirs and Picqués and the Laytannes were allies of the French as they were;[31] that they could not find fault with people who, after being long attacked, endeavored to avenge themselves; and finally he succeeded in inducing the Illinois not to listen to the grands Ossages, by representing to them that if they wished to go to war they should direct their steps towards the Chikachas, that the blood of their fathers and that of the French still flowed on the lands of that nation, and that everything urged them to avenge their death.

The grands Ossages were surprised at seeing the Laytannes. They dread them greatly. In fact that nation says it knows not what it is to retreat, and that it always attacks, whether it be strong or weak. The Laytannes are armed with spears like the ancient Spaniards; they are always mounted on caparisoned horses, and their women go to war with them.

I have already had the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, by my letter of the 15th of October, 1750, that a Poutetouamis of the river St. Joseph had been killed. That savage was one of a band coming from the Illinois country. He was killed

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30 This probably refers to the custom of the plains Indians of hunting buffalo by means of a great park, which they formed with a cordon of trees and stones, and then drove the animals within. See description in *Id.*, xxii, p. 390.—Ed.

31 Referring to the alliance made with these tribes by the brothers Mallet, who crossed the plains to Santa Fé in 1739, and noted particularly "Laitanes". See also Margry, *Découv. et Établ.*, vi, pp. 455–462.—Ed.

while passing through a village of that nation by a Peoria with whom he had had a quarrel on account of a young man, the son of a Peoria and a relative of him who struck the blow. At first the Peoria nation went to speak to Monsieur de St. Clin to try smooth over the matter. He wrote at once to to the commandant at St. Joseph to strive on his part to bring about a reconciliation between the two nations, pointing out to him that the Poutetouatamis was a very worthless and troublesome individual, and that the matter was of very great importance in connection with the safety of the voyageurs in the Illinois country.

The efforts of the two commandants did not meet with much success. Last spring a party of Pouteouatamis Maskoutins, Folles avoines, and Saulteux went to attack the Peorias. The latter took three Pouteouatamis and a Maskoutin, and, far from doing them any harm, they sent them back and said to them: "*Why do you disturb the earth for a fool who has been killed? What is your reason for coming to such extremes? Some of our people who were married in your villages have been killed there and we have never taken up arms to revenge ourselves. Moreover, if you attack us we will revenge ourselves; the earth will be disturbed and the roads will be closed through your fault.*" Monsieur de St. Clin has also written to the commandant at St. Joseph and I have no doubt that this slight adventure will greatly contribute to restore peace among those nations.

A Kaaux woman was killed.[32] The nation pursued those who had committed the deed; it caught up with a party of seven savages, six of whom were killed on the spot. They said they were Renards, Sakis, and Sioux. The son of Pemissa, the chief of the Renards, was among the killed.[33] This news

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[32] Indian of the Cahokia branch of the Illinois. Their village was near the French town of Cahokia.—Ed.

[33] This was Pemoussa the third. For the elder Pemoussa see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 268, 276, 281, 377, xvii, pp. 53, 54. For the father of this young chief, see *Ibid.*, p. 406. The last possessor of this name

relates to what I had the honor to write you in my letter of the 16th of this month. It is very important to prevent the consequences of this affair; I will, therefore, devote all my attention to it and will write to Monsieur Marin accordingly.

A party of Chaouanons went to fort Pianguichias[34] to strike a blow there, while the necessary relief was being taken to that post. At the same time forty Pianguichias were there; they set out on the heels of the Chaouanons and said they would follow them to their village to find out positively whence they came. They think they are from Sonioto or from the rivière à la Roche. If they be from the latter village the Pianguichias will perchance act in accordance with my intentions.

Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that he is doing all in his power to bring about a reconciliation between the Chaouanons and the Illinois and the nations of Ouabache, but that some Frenchmen who have deserted from his post to go and hunt at la Belle rivière have greatly disarranged his plans; that in fact some Chaouanons from Sonioto, who had come down to hunt, had a man killed and a woman with two children taken by the Ouyatanons, while the Frenchmen were with them. The Chaouanons stopped the Frenchmen and wanted to attack them, saying that the blow had been struck by the Illinois, the children of the French. Fortunately they changed their mind; they sent two of the Frenchmen, called Lamirande and Ste. Marie to the Illinois to find out who had committed the murder. They kept with them the wife of the said Lamirande and the other Frenchmen. To endeavor to withdraw these Frenchmen, Monsieur de St. Clin was compelled to send two envoys

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known to the Americans as Peamuska (Peimosky, etc), was chief of the principal village of the Foxes, situated at the mouth of Catfish Creek, Dubuque County, Iowa. Apparently he was made chief after the death of Kettle, about 1820. In 1824 he visited Washington, being a few years later killed by a band of Sioux and Menominee, who ambushed him and his band on their way to Prairie du Chien.—Ed.

[34] The fort at Vincennes, which was frequented by this band of Miami.—Ed.

with a calumet, two rolls of tobacco, and a letter in which he told the Chaouanons that the Illinois had not stirred from their mats and that he knew not what nation struck the blow; that he intended to have the roads kept open so that they might come in all safety to the French, and he would make peace with the Illinois.

The Chaouanons received this letter at la Belle rivière. This is the answer given to Monsieur de St. Clin.

"We are all Iroquois here, masters of this river, the Iroquois of Montreal and Sault St. Louis. We look upon the Chaouanons as our children. We beg thee to try and get back the prisoners, to send them to us and we shall be satisfied. The Chaouanon chiefs have gone to show thy letter to their village, and to consult together whether they will go and see thee at the end of the winter or in the spring. There is one Joncaire (a savage) who hopes to go and see thee."

The Chaouanons did not go to see Monsieur de St. Clin last spring. He fears that the French they had in their power have been killed, for a rumor has been current for some time that a Frenchman and woman have been killed, and that the Chaouanons have taken to the Chikachas four women bound. This was told him by an Illinois who had it from a Misamis.

Monsieur de Celoron had already informed me of this and that the Ouyatanons had sent back one of the said prisoners to the Chaouanons.

We must not be grieved at the Ouyatanons having struck a blow at the Chaouanons, and I am writing to Monsieur de St. Clin that there would not have been much harm in stopping the quarrel this affair might have occasioned between the Chaouanons and the Illinois, because it would be in our interest to destroy those Chaouanons by getting the nations to wage war against them.

With regard to the French who have remained in the power of the Chaouanons, perhaps the arrival of the Chaouanons whom the Ouyatanons have sent back, will have procured them

their liberty. In any case they are not to be pitied because they are deserters who have disobeyed the King's ordinances.

We should spare the Chaouanons but little because they are always trying to disturb the nations that are our allies. A savage of the post of Pianguichias, who was in winter quarters, was attacked by three Chaouanons; he received a gun-shot wound and a blow from a tomahawk, but escaped notwithstanding.

Another savage of the same nation was also attacked by the Chaouanons within sight of the post. He took to flight and lost only his gun and his blanket.

The English are taking as much trouble to seduce the nations on the side of the Illinois as everywhere else.

They gave a message to the people of the Vermilion village.[35] Their chief, named le Maringouin, would not receive it. He replied to his people that he knew no other father than the French; that he wished to have no other. They threw the message at him saying: *"Take it and do what thou wishest with it."*

Monsieur de St. Clin was informed at the same time that la Mouche noire, a chief of the Ouyatanons, said to his people: *"I am going to the English; I will bring some of them here to the village and, on my return, I will go to the Illinois to ascertain their last dispositions regarding the French and the English, namely which of the two they desire as father; and, if they speak to me of the English, the matter will soon be concluded."*

Monsieur de St. Clin heard indirectly that the English are continuing to get la Mouche noire and la Peau blanche to work at corrupting those nations under the pretext of the fur-trade. The Peorias reported to him that la Peau Blanche went last winter to them to induce them to go there. Some of his peo-

[35] A town of the Piankashaw (Peanguicha), on the Vermillion River, a stream in a county of the same name, in eastern Illinois, that enters the Wabash some distance above Vincennes.—Ed.

ple are also to go to la Mouche noire. Such are their usual subjects of conversation when they come back in the spring from their winter quarters.

The English are continuing their intrigues to induce the nations to attack the French, through the machinations of la Mouche noire and la Demoiselle, chief of the rebellious Miamis. La Mouche noire has two brothers who are chiefs of the Kaseakias domiciled at fort Chartres. He enticed away the elder who went to rivière à la Roche to take there three English captives. He expects, on his return, to bring some English into Monsieur de St. Clin's neighborhood but the exact place is not known.

The English have won the confidence of the nations of Ouabache.

Finally Monsieur de St. Clin writes me that they are seeking only to penetrate to the lands of his post; and he adds that this may happen sooner than one thinks. I will not fail to repeat the orders I have already given him to spare no effort to make the English withdraw.

Last autumn Monsieur de St. Clin effected an alliance with the Panismahas,[36] a very powerful nation on the Missouri whose Chiefs are absolute. That nation is governed by three brothers; the most powerful is called Stabaco. The eldest of the three went to see him, and he received him very well. He assured him that either he or his brother would go and see him this year. On leaving he said to him: *"My father, if thou hast any rebellious Children who lose their wits, let me know. Thou canst rely on me and on my nation."* This alliance is a very advantageous one, and, by maintaining that nation in our interest, we shall be masters of the front and back of the Missoury country.

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[36] Panimaha (Pawnee Loup, Skidi) Indians were a large band of Caddoan stock that later amalgamated with the Pawnee and lived on Loup River, Nebraska. At the time of this document it is quite probable that the Skidi also included the Arikara. See George B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales* (N. Y., 1893).—Ed.

You will learn, Monseigneur, the death of Monsieur de la Barre, commandant in the Missoury country, who was killed by a soldier of his post.[37] The wretch was at once arrested. Monsieur de St. Clin had him tried by court-martial and executed at once, as he was warned that the nations were coming to ask for his pardon. This soldier was intoxicated when he committed the deed, and as two Canadian voyageurs, called Frigeon and La Combe, were the indirect cause of it by trading brandy contrary to Monsieur de St. Clin's prohibition, I had the former imprisoned, and the latter will be as soon as he arrives.

I remain, with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIÈRE.

[Letter from De Raymond to the French minister, dated Oct. 1, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 389.]

To Monseigneur Roullié Secretary and Minister of State.

MONSEIGNEUR—de Raymond, a Captain of a Company of the Marine Detachment In Canada, has the honor to most Respectfully Represent to you that in 1722, 29 years ago, the Council of Marine gave him a commission as Second Ensign in the troops of That Colony; since that date His zeal and assiduity in the Service have earned Him the rank of Captain.

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[37] The Missouri River had been early occupied by a French post called Fort Orleans, but this was captured and destroyed by the Indians in 1725. About 1745 Vaudreuil, then governor of Louisiana, had posts built upon the Missouri to check lawlessness on the part of the coureurs des bois. Lewis and Clark saw the remains of one at the Kansas village near Fort Leavenworth, when they passed this site in 1804. See Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904), i, p. 65; also Bougainville's *Memoir, post.*

La Barre was an ensign in the Canadian army in 1738, and in 1742 was granted permission to proceed to France en route to Louisiana.—ED.

In 1738, Monsieur The General Beauharnois Sent Him to take Command Until 1746 at the fort of Niagara, one of the most important keys of that country. In the same year 1746, Monsieur de Beauharnois gave Him his orders to Command And Conduct The Convoys of Canoes of the King and traders carrying Supplies to the posts of Detroit, Miamis, And Ouyatanons. In 1747, Monsieur de Beaucourt, Governor of Montreal,[38] gave him orders to serve as first Captain of the War party Commanded by Monsieur de Rigaud de Vaudreüil, at that time Major for trois Rivieres on an expedition to the shores of New England at the fort of sarastaeux where over 100 men were killed and over 60 prisoners taken.[39] In 1748 he Was Sent to Command at the fort of Niagara under the orders of Monsieur the General La Galissonière. In 1749 The General Detached Him from the Command of That Garrison And Sent Him orders to go and take Command at the Miamis post where he stopped le pied froid, the Great Chief of the Miamis Nation,[40] and All his Band who were about to abandon that post and Go over to The English. By his Continual efforts and watchfulness and The care he took to Maintain Spies among the Revolted Miamis and Their allies, he Discovered The Intrigues of a Conspiracy, Balked its plans and Frustrated their Execution. That Conspiracy had Been hatched by the pianguichias, The ouyatanons of the Band of le Comte, The Revolted Miamis, the Chaouanons and a number of Renegade yrocois who Had Withdrawn to the Belle Rivière and had Drawn into Their Plot the nations of the ylinois Country who were to act at the time Indicated to Them. The letter Written to Him on the Subject by Monsieur Benoist, the Commandant of the ylinois, he Sent to Monsieur de la jonquière, who Stated that he had Forwarded It to Your Grace; a copy thereof is

[38] For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 292.—Ed.

[39] For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 452. De Raymond must refer to the raid of 1746, wherein Fort Massachusetts was captured.—Ed.

[40] See brief sketch of this chief, *Ibid.*, p. 482.—Ed.

hereto annexed.[41] By those negotiations he Won over The families of le péan and of le Sac à pétun, the leading ones among the Revolted Miamis. Their Return to the post brought back there The remainder of That nation and restored Harmony everywhere. He had Managed Matters on That Occasion and Had Reason to Hope for a successful Result When his unexpected and unseasonable recall, which surprised That Nation, caused them to Suddenly Change their attitude, and matters Became So unsatisfactory from that time, that they were in a Desperate condition and Without any Chance of Improvement. This Should now show Monsieur de la jonquière, If he would open his eyes, How Messieurs de Celoron And Varin had deceived him By Asking the former to Relieve him and replace him by the Sieur de Villiers, who, according to The project that Was Sent you, Monseigneur, was to Bring back the Revolted Miamis At once And restore tranquility everywhere through the great Experience And the Great Credit he was supposed to have, but who, Nevertheless, obtained no other result than seeing The Band of le pied froid leave the post of Miamis and Go over to the English, without being able to stop them; and there Remained with the Sieur de villiers at that post only le pied froid and his family, Making 3 or 4 Lodges. The families of le péan and of le Sac à pétun, who had just come to Miamis to join him [de Raymond] would no longer Hear of Returning when they learned of his recall. Had he been Retained at that Post, They Would have come there and he Would have Availed himself of their Influence over the remainder of the Revolted Miamis to induce them to Return. The Band of le pied froid, whom he would have Strengthened in their loyalty on their arrival, would not have left that post. Such was the result of his Recall and When The Sieur de villiers appeared at Rivière à la Roche, Far from Having The Credit of Bringing back the Revolted Miamis, the latter would not Listen to Him but Sent Him back in so Contemptuous a manner that he Returned to

[41] See *ante*, pp. 58-60.—Ed.

His post without a Word and quicker than he left it. What then Became of his Credit and Experience? They Served only to Put The evil beyond Remedy; and yet there was one. Were his and Monsieur de Celoron's eyes so closed, or had they so little Knowledge, as not to perceive it And not to see what was to be done: he would not Say to make the Revolted Miamis Come back—which might however happen—but he would Say to Protect the Ouabache River and make its Navigation and Trade safe for the voyageurs and secure the safety of The posts of Miamis and ouyatanons and of Those higher up. Otherwise they would be threatened with destruction in the near future and communications would be closed for most of the Nations who would cause trouble of all kinds and go to the English for Their Supplies. All these means are so well known to Him [de Raymond] that, notwithstanding The injustice Done him in Relieving him from the Miamis post, he would have Thrown Light on the subject. It would not, however, have Been Received, but would have Been set aside by persons who display more ability in looking after their own interests than they do Knowledge for the Good of the service in the Upper country. The Disinterestedness he manifested in the Service, his assiduity in the performance of his duties, and the Great Economy he effected for the King in the Various Commands Confided to him, The orders regarding which are hereto annexed, lead Him to Hope that he will obtain from your justice, Monseigneur, The Commission of Major Commanding the post of Michilimaquinac, and, to Save the King's moneys, The Licenses of the Canoes going to that post, as his remuneration. If your Grace cannot grant him That Favor, he would most humbly Beg you to grant him for six years the Command of the post of la Baye with its Dependencies and Boundaries, as granted to the Sieur Marin who now holds it, Without The King being bound to give him any Remuneration beyond The Liberty to Exploit the same as he may deem most Advisable by means of persons whom he would know to be most honest in supplying the Needs of the Savages of that

post, Without their being obliged to pay any rent or License. In this manner no remuneration would be paid him, the Mere Disposal of the post which he Asks would serve him as such. He Hopes to obtain This Favor from your Grace On Account of his 29 years of service and because of the Debts he Was obliged to contract to maintain the dignity of the King's Service at the posts which he has Commanded and which are Very Expensive owing to the number of persons who pass there and the officers of the garrisons. So far he has never Been granted any of the advantageous posts which Are always granted to persons in his position. This leads Him to have Recourse to your justice, Monseigneur, to obtain from You The Command of La Baye, or if you cannot do him the Favor of granting him the Commission of Major Commanding at Missilimaquinac, to give him the Command of one of those two Posts. This would put him in a Position, If His Majesty were willing to incur The expense of the journey, to go In person and make Known a Rich and abundant Copper Mine whereof he has a Knowledge from information from two voyageurs Devoted to him who Discovered it and wintered at its foot. It is in the vicinity of the Mississipi river The largest vessels of that country could load at the foot of the Mine for the Discovery of which Considerable Expense was incurred Under the Direction of Monsieur de Gruis some years ago.[42] He Knows two Roads leading to it; The Shortest is by The post of La Baye. If Your Grace would give Him The Command there for six years and honor Him with your orders, he would go himself to conduct the person you would be pleased to appoint to Inspect it.

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[42] In 1743; see brief report in *Id.*, xiii, p. 276.—Ed.

1751: POST AT SAULT STE. MARIE

[Letter from La Jonquière to the French minister, dated Oct. 5, 1751. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 104.]

QUEBEC, October 5, 1751.

MONSEIGNEUR—In my letter of the 24th of August of last year, I had the honor to report to you that, in order to thwart the measures the English cease not to take to beguile the savage nations of the northern region, I had sent the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny to Sault Ste. Marie to establish a post at his own expense[43] and build a stockade fort there, in order to stop the savages of the northern posts who go and come to and from the English, to break off the trade they carry on with them, to stop and forestall the consequences of the messages and presents that the English send to those nations that they may corrupt and win them completely over to their interests, and inspire them with feelings of hatred and aversion to the French.

In establishing such a post I have also had in view the securing of a refuge for all the French voyageurs,[44] especially for

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[43] The patent was issued to the Sieur de Bonne and the Chevalier de Repentigny, June 24, 1751; it was for six leagues frontage on the river and six leagues in depth; see *Canadian Archives*, 1905, p. 154. This grant was the origin of a famous lawsuit. The heirs of De Repentigny dwelt at Guadeloupe, but those of De Bonne lived in Canada. In 1796 Pierre de Bonne sold his title to one James Caldwell at Albany. The claim passed through several hands, and congress was petitioned (1826) by the heirs of this moiety. In 1846 the Repentigny heirs likewise petitioned for title to the land in question. In 1860 congress passed a private act, referring the matter to the courts for adjudication. The Michigan court affirmed the title, but the United States supreme court reversed the decision (1868) and threw out the claim, chiefly because of lack of occupancy.—ED.

[44] From the abandonment of the Jesuit mission at this place until the building of De Repentigny's fort there seems to have been no establishment of any sort at Sault Ste. Marie. The number of resident Indians was in 1736 reported as only thirty. In 1748 voyageurs were maltreated at this passage, but there seems to have been no attempt to occupy this important place until the time noted in the present document.—ED.

those who trade in the northern region, and, for such purpose, have had the land there cleared, as it is very suitable for growing Indian corn, and thereby may provide the food required for the people of the said post and also for the needs of the voyageurs.

The said Sieur de Repentigny has fulfilled on all points the first purposes of my orders.

On his arrival at Missilimakinac the chief of the Savages of Sault Ste Marie handed him four branches of porcelain, and begged him to send them to me to show me how much they appreciate my attention in sending them the Sieur Chevalier de Repentigny, whom they had already adopted as their nephew (this is a mark of distinction for an officer, among the savages). In order to inform them of my will in all cases, and to direct their steps and actions.

I gave orders, to the said Sieur de Repentigny to reply to the message of that chief by the same number of branches of porcelain, and to assure him and his nation of my satisfaction with their good disposition.

The savages received him at Sault Ste. Marie with much joy. He kindled my fire in the village by a collar which the savages received with sentiments of gratitude.

He strove at first to win over the more suspicious of those savages.

One Tocoouagané confided to him that there was a collar in the village sent by the English. The Sieur de Repentigny succeeded in getting that collar that had been in the village for five years, and had been asked for in vain until then. That collar was carried to all the Saulteux villages, and to the others south and north of Lake Superior to induce all those nations to enter into the conspiracy planned between the English and the Five nations, after which it was placed and kept deposited at Sault Ste. Marie. Fortunately for us, the conspiracy was revealed and had no result.

The Sieur de Repentigny sent me that collar with the message of Apacquois, a Missisagué of the village at the head of

Lake Ontario[45] to support that collar which he gave in 1747 to the Saulteux at the foot of the Quinibitanon rapid. He sent me also the message given by the English in the autumn of 1746 to get up that conspiracy. I have the honor to send you copies of those two messages annexed to this letter, and you will see by them to what excess the English had pushed their evil designs to destroy the French and obtain possession of our forts.

The said Sieur de Repentigny forbade the savages of his post to go and winter at Saguinau. This means not a little for those nations go from there very easily and in a short time to the English who load them with presents. Those savages have kept the promise he exacted from them. They all remained on Lake Superior notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the English to attract them to them.

The said Sieur de Repentigny is afraid that the nations of his post may want to go to war against the Sioux, and that he will have much trouble in preventing them, because they maintain that they have nothing to do with the peace the Saulteux of Chouagamigon have made with the Sioux. I have ordered him to make every effort to stop any parties that might be formed and I trust he will succeed.

With regard to the second object of my orders, the said Sieur de Repentigny has neglected nothing in order to carry out the same.

He arrived at Sault Ste Marie too late last year to fortify himself properly. He however sheltered himself from attack in a kind of fort large enough to hold the traders of Missilimakinac.

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[45] The Mississagua were an Algonquian tribe originally encountered, about 1648, north of Lake Huron. In the eighteenth century they moved southeastward, and had villages in the present peninsula of Ontario, one of these being at Toronto; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 313. The one mentioned here seems to have been near the site of Hamilton. The tribe are now on reservations in Ontario. Consult Ontario Hist. Soc. *Papers and Records*, vii. pp. 7-10.—Ed.

The weather was dreadful in September, October, and November. Snow fell on the 10th of October to the depth of a foot and caused him great delay.

He kept his employees occupied throughout the winter in cutting 1,100 stakes 15 feet long for his fort, with the timber for the inside linings and that required for building three houses, one of which is 30 feet long and 20 wide, and the two others 25 feet long and as wide as the first.

His fort is completely finished with the exception of an oak redoubt which he is to make 12 feet square and as much above the gate of the fort. As soon as this work is completed, he will send me the plan of his establishment. His fort is 110 feet square.[46]

The said Sieur de Repentigny has observed to me that during the winter he has had small rafts of timber run down the Sault Ste. Marie through a spring of hot water which is a curiosity in this country where ice is more common than anywhere else.

With regard to the cultivation of the land—The Sieur de Re-

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[46] The fort here described was situated on the south (or American) side of the strait, about where Fort Brady is now located. It caught fire and was destroyed Dec. 22, 1762, not long after possession had been taken by a detachment of British under Lieutenant Jamet. Alexander Henry was staying there at the time and describes it in his journal. Jamet sought refuge at Mackinac, where he was killed when the Indians surprised the fort, June 2, 1763. See Bain, *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures* (Boston, 1901). No further effort was made by the British government to occupy this place, but in 1783 the North West Company of fur-traders built a fort and trading house on the north shore of the strait, which was maintained under this company and its successors until recent times. In 1814, in retaliation for the active sympathy of the fur-traders with the British, an American detachment under Lieutenant Holmes visited the site, and burned all the buildings; see "Franchère's Narrative," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, vi, pp. 395–397. The first peaceful American expedition to the region was that of Gov. Lewis Cass in 1820. He found the Indians under the influence of the British, but made a treaty with them, which was faithfully kept. In 1822 Fort Brady was built, and has been garrisoned ever since.—Ed.

pentigny has had a bull, two oxen, three cows, two heifers, a horse, and a mare from Missilimakinac.

He was unable to get any land cleared on his arrival, as his employees were fully occupied in working at the fort.

Last spring he had all the small timber and brushwood cleared in the immediate vicinity of the fort.

He induced a Frenchman, married to an Indian woman at Sault Ste. Marie, to take a farm.[47] They have cleared and seeded the land, and, unless prevented by frost, they will gather from 30 to 35 sacks of Indian corn.

The said Sieur de Repentigny is so desirous of cultivating the land that he has already taken steps to procure two slaves whom he will employ in taking care of the Indian corn he will harvest on such land.[48]

I beg you, Monseigneur, to be convinced that I shall spare no effort to make that establishment equally useful for the King's service and for the voyageurs' convenience.

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[47] This habitant was Jean Baptiste Cadotte (Cadeau). His father had accompanied St. Lusson to the region, being present when the French flag was raised in 1671. When De Repentigny left Sault Ste. Marie he placed Cadotte in charge, and Henry speaks of him as the "last governor of the French fort." He became a British subject and protected Alexander Henry during Pontiac's conspiracy, afterwards becoming his partner in the Lake Superior fur-trade. He lived at Sault Ste. Marie until his death in 1803. His marriage with the Chippewa woman was legitimized at Mackinac in 1756; see Mackinac Register, *post*. His two sons, Jean Baptiste and Michel, were prominent fur-traders of the Lake Superior region, and have left many descendants. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v.—Ed.

[48] These slaves were Indian captives. The custom of enslaving captives was common to all Indian tribes. In the upper country large numbers of such were secured from the Pawnee tribe, hence the term "panis" became synonomous with slave. The slaves were delivered by the Indians to the French, who used them chiefly for domestic service. The conditions of slavery were mild in Canada, the "panis" being usually a member of the household. See Lafontaine, "L'ésclavage en Canada," in Montreal Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1858.—Ed.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

LAIONQUIÈRE.

1752: NEWS FROM THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Letter from Longueuil[49] to the French minister. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 245–251.]

April 21, 1752.

MY LORD—The late Marquis de la Jonquière had the honor to report to you in his letter of the 13th 7^{ber}, the ill success of the orders he had given in a secret instruction to Mr de Celoron; that the band of *La Demoiselle* and other Indians of the Beautiful river had pushed their rebellion to excess, had adopted the English and had openly declared themselves the sworn enemies of the French.

In the same letter that general had the honor to inform you that he had adopted wise measures to secure the conquest of *La Demoiselle's* fort, to expel the English from the Beautiful river,

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[49] Charles le Moyne, third of the name, second Baron de Longueuil, was the officer mentioned in *Wis. Hist. Colls*, xvii. Unfortunately, the index of that volume does not distinguish him from either his father or his brother, the latter the Chevalier de Longueuil. The officer who wrote this letter was born at Longueuil in 1687 and in due time entered military service, being lieutenant in 1713 and captain in 1719. Upon the death of his father (1729) he succeeded to the barony. In 1733 he was made town-major of Montreal, and the next year received the cross of St. Louis. His chief military expedition was the one that he led from Canada to Louisiana in 1739, to aid his uncle Sieur de Bienville against the Chickasaw. In 1748 he was made the king's lieutenant at Montreal, and the following year, its governor. Upon the demise of Marquis de la Jonquière (March 17, 1752), Baron de Longueuil became governor of the colony, serving until the arrival of the Marquis Duquesne in August of the same year. Longueuil died in January, 1755. For his portrait, see *Ibid.*, p. 292. His only son was killed on Dieskau's expedition of the same year.—ED.

to punish the Indian nations and to make them feel the King's power.

I doubt not, my Lord, but that letter had at first created great hopes of the execution of the expedition which was projected and concerted in the best possible manner by the late M. de la Jonquière.

But the despatch which that General had the honor to write you on the 29th of October on the subject of Mr de Belestre's voyage,[50] and of the scalps taken by the Nipissings, will only create an apprehension in your mind that his orders and purest intentions would be fruitless.

In fact, my Lord, the orders which Mr de la Jonquière despatched last spring to Mr de Celoron, and repeated in his letter to him of the first of October, were not executed any more than those he had given him as far back as 1750, before his departure for Detroit. I cannot actually fathom the reasons which prevented that officer obeying them, as he makes no mention thereof in the letter he has written to the late Mr de la Jonquière on the twenty-sixth day of January last.

That letter has been preceded by several despatches from Mr de Celoron and the Commandants of our other posts at the South, even, I think, at Illinois, but neither the one nor the other has reached me. Mr de Celoron had addressed these despatches to Mr de la Lavalterie, the Commandant at Niagara,[51] who detached a soldier to convey them to Fort Rouillé, with orders to the storekeeper of that post to transmit them promptly to Montreal. It is not known what became of that soldier. About the same time a Mississagué from Toronto

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[50] For this officer see *Ibid.*, p. 459.—Ed.

[51] Pierre Paul Margane, Sieur de la Valterie, was brother of the younger Vincennes, founder of the fort of that name on the Wabash. Born in 1679, he was ensign in 1712, lieutenant in 1721, and captain in 1739. In 1759, as the oldest captain in the service, he received a pension. He is spoken of as a rich, honest, elderly man, of fair talents. Besides this command at Niagara he was in 1739 at Fort Nipigon, and in 1747 at Sault St. Louis. He remained in Canada after the British conquest.—Ed.

arrived at Niagara, who informed Mr de Lavalterie that he had not seen that soldier at the fort, nor met him on the way. 'Tis to be feared that he has been killed by Indians, and the despatches carried to the English. Mr de la Valterie has not failed to recommend to this Indian to make every search on his way back to his village, and to assure him, that should he find that soldier, and convey the despatches entrusted to him to the storekeeper of Toronto, he would be well rewarded.

Mr de Celoron's letter is accompanied by one that Mr Desligneris[52] wrote to the late Mr de la Jonquière on the 4th of January. 'Tis from this last letter that I learned more particularly the unfortunate state of our affairs.

From the accounts which Mr de Celoron transmitted to the late Mr de la Jonquière subsequent to those, a detail of which that General had the honor to give you, and previous to Mr

[52] François Marchand des Ligneris (Lignery) was born in 1704, made second ensign in 1733, first ensign in 1738, lieutenant in 1744, and captain in 1751. He is first noted at Three Rivers, where his father, who died in 1732, was town-major. In 1735 he accompanied De Noyelles on the latter's expedition against the Fox Indians, and in 1739 participated in the Chickasaw expedition. King George's War found him in Acadia (1745–47), and in 1748 he assisted in arranging an exchange of prisoners between the two colonies. He appears to have served at Ouiatanon as commandant in 1750–53. In 1755 he accompanied Contrecœur's expedition to Fort Duquesne, and participated in the attack on Braddock. In the closing months of 1756 he succeeded Dumas as commandant of Fort Duquesne, and for his services received the cross of St. Louis and a pension. During his command of Fort Duquesne, Des Ligneris sent out many raiding parties against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1758 he led in person the troops that defeated Maj. James Grant and captured many of the latter's Highlanders. Finding Fort Duquesne untenable upon the approach of Gen. John Forbes, Des Ligneris burned the works and retreated with his forces to Fort Machault. There, during the winter, he was engaged in preparations for a descent upon the English at Fort Pitt; but the advance of Prideaux and Johnson against Niagara called him thither to bring succor. In attempting to force his way into the fort, Des Ligneris was defeated and captured by the English. He is said to have been ill-treated while prisoner, probably in retalia-

Celoron's being able to receive his last orders, sent in his letter of the first of October, it appears that it will be out of his power to make any movement.

He observes, first, that after the arrival of the Militia men under the command of Lieutenant de Longueuil,[53] and twenty days' consultation among the nations, the latter had concluded, our force being insufficient to attack *La Demoiselle* and his allies, to keep the hatchet to use it when complete success would be certain, and to wait until the spring; that the delay these Indians demand, put it out of his power to execute anything with the few Frenchmen he has; that it is easy to perceive by the manœuvre of the Indians, that they cannot be induced to follow the French unless the latter are in strong force; that he has notified the Commandants of the River St. Joseph and of the Ouyatanons of the resolution these Indians had adopted, and that, should their Indians be of the same mind, nothing can probably be effected, and they must confine themselves to putting their post in a secure state.

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tion for the barbarities committed by his Indians upon the prisoners taken at Grant's defeat. Certain it is that he died of his wounds before February, 1760. His widow and daughters retired to France and were pensioned. In the sketch given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp 113-115, father and son are confused as one officer. The former was Constant Marchand, Sieur des Ligneris (who died in 1732), and the officer commanding in the Fox wars of Wisconsin. An elder brother appears to have entered the army before François, and was ensign in 1729. Possibly, also, it was he who accompanied De Noyelles; see *Id.*, xvii, p. 226. A son of François was ensign in 1760 and retired to France.—Ed.

[53] This was Charles Jacques le Moyne, later third Baron de Longueuil, son of the officer sketched in *ante*, p. 104, note 49. The younger Longueuil was born at Longueuil in 1724. Early entering the colonial army, he attained the grade of lieutenant in 1748, and in 1754 that of captain. Upon his father's death (early in 1755) he succeeded to the title and estate, but was missing after a sortie upon the English on Lake George in Dieskau's expedition of 1755. For several years, his widow refused to believe him dead. A posthumous daughter was born, who later became the Baroness Grant.—Ed.

In a letter of the 18th of September, Mr de Celoron notifies Mr de la Jonquière that no dependence is to be placed on the Indians for any expedition, although Mikinac[54] had assured him that nothing but the fear of the smallpox had stopped him, and that all the villages will march in the spring, if forces be sent. Finally Mr de Celoron states in his last letter, that he cannot say anything positively respecting the nations of his post, as he had not seen them since their departure for their winter grounds.

Mr de Ligneris, Commadant at the Ouyatanons, believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Maskoutins, and that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kispapous.[55] He even adds that we are not to reckon on the nations which appear in our interests; no Ouyatanon Chief has appeared at his post for a long time, although they had promised to inform him of all that they knew.

Mr de Villiers, Commandant at the Miamis,[56] has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White River, part of whom had been to see him, the smallpox having put the whole of them to the route. Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. *Le Gris*, Chief of the Tepicons,[57] and his mother, are likewise dead; they are a loss because they were well disposed towards the French.

The Nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said that they would be ready to perform their promise as soon as Onontio would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The Commandant of this post writes on the 15th of January that all the Nations appear to take sides against us, that he would not be responsible for the good dis-

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[54] For this chief see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 389. He died at Detroit during the winter of 1754-55.—Ed.

[55] A misreading for Kickapoo, the tribe allied with the Mascoutin, who at this period were settled near the Ouiatanon post.—Ed.

[56] Louis Coulon de Villiers, for whom see *ante*, p. 46, note 82.—Ed.

[57] For data relative to this clan of the Miami, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 485.—Ed.

positions these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their near relatives.

The Missilimakina Nations who had in like manner promised, have not budged either. Mr Duplessis Fabert writes on the first of January that he has been informed some of the enemy have been seen on the Grand river.

It is exceedingly probable that the Commandant at Fort Chartres will not have any greater authority over the Nations of his post.

The result of all that I have the honor of reporting to you, my Lord, is that not only have our rebels of the Beautiful river not experienced any ill treatment from the Nations that the late Mr de la Jonquière had excited against them, but even moreover, that the same Nations promised wonders to that General only with a premeditated view to deceive him, and that at heart they preserve the same feelings of attachment for those rebels to whom they are connected by blood.

The perfidy of these Nations, however unfortunate it may be, is not the most untoward event that could happen to us, and it was not without reason that the late Mr de la Jonquière questioned whether the two scalps taken by the Nepissings would give any trouble to our rebels, or render them more mutinous. His alternative has been only too well realized to our greatest disadvantage.

On the other hand, Mr de Joncaire repeats that the Indians of the Beautiful river are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to sustain each other, and that not a party of Indians goes to the Beautiful river but leaves some there to increase the rebel forces.

On the other hand Mr de St. Ange, Commandant of the post of Vincennes,[58] writes to Mr Desligneris to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the

[58] For a sketch of this officer see *Id.*, xvi, p. 443. His will is printed in F. L. Billon, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 125–127. See further data in Illinois Historical Society *Transactions*, 1905, pp. 18–20.—Ed.

French; that he is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies.

The Commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard against all events as our enemies have steeped their hands in French blood, and as we deeply feel the cost of the two scalps taken by the Nepissings near *La Demoiselle's* village.

The Miamis of Rock river have scalped two soldiers belonging to Mr de Villiers' fort; this blow was struck last fall, doubtless shortly after that of the Nepissings.

The Pianguichias, who were at war with the Chaouanons, according to the report rendered by Mr St. Clin to the late Mr de la Jonquière, have declared entirely against us. They killed at Christmas five Frenchmen at the Vermillion. Mr Desligneris, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered, but when this detachment arrived at the Vermillion, the Pianguichas had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice.

Mr Desligneris was assured that the Pianguichas had committed this act, because four men of their Nation had been killed by the French at the Illinois, and four others had been taken and put in irons. It is said that these eight men were going to fight the Chikachas, and had, without distrusting anything, entered the quarters of the French who killed them. It has been reported, also, to Mr Desligneris that these Frenchmen had recourse to this extreme measure only, because a Frenchman and two slaves had been killed a few days before by a party of Pianguichias, and that the Indians in question had no knowledge of that circumstance.

The like report was made to Mr de St. Ange, Commandant at the post of Vincenne, and that many of the Illinois had been defeated.

On the 19th of October the Pianguichias had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues, lower down than the post of Vincenne.

Two days afterwards the Pianguichias killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincenne.

The murder of these nine Frenchmen and these two slaves is but too certain.

Mr de Joncaire was informed by the late Mr de la Jonquière, by a letter of the 6th of September, that he had been assured by a party of the warriors, that the Flatheads had scalped three Frenchmen at a place called *La Chutte*, in the lower part of the Beautiful river,[59] and took a fourth Frenchman prisoner, whom they delivered, with the scalps, to the English; this news may be false, though there is reason to believe that it is true.

I expect nothing less than to learn by accounts I shall receive this spring, that other Frenchmen have been killed. The advices I have received from all quarters leave me no doubt on this head.

Mr Desligneris thinks that many of the Ouiatanons, who form with the Pianguichias and the Miamis but one Nation, may join them.

A Squaw, the widow of one of the Frenchmen who had been killed at the Vermillion, has reported to Mr Desligneris that the Pianguichias, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the Prairies of * * * the place where the Messrs. de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years ago,[60] and when they had built a fort to secure their families, were to make a general attack on all the French.

'Twas also reported to Mr Desligneris that a Pouteouatami chief, of the River St. Joseph, being at the Ouyatanons in the fall with letters for him, whilst he was at the Miamis, told a Pianguichas chief, privately, that his Nation would never accept the tomahawk to strike the Miamis. This assurance may greatly have emboldened the Miamis.

Mr de Joncaire writes, on the 30th of August, that he had

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[59] The falls of the Ohio, where is now the city of Louisville, Ky.—Ed.

[60] For this affair see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 109-120, 129, 130.—Ed

just learned that a meeting of the Illinois, Ouyas, Pianguichas, Miamis, Delawares, Chaouanons and the Five Iroquois Nations, was to be had this year at *La Demoiselle's*, and that the whole tends, in his opinion, to a general revolt.

The storekeeper at Toronto writes to Mr de Verchères, Commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians have assured him that the Saulteux, who killed our Frenchmen some years ago,[61] have dispersed themselves along the head of Lake Ontario, and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort.

There is no doubt, my Lord, but 'tis the English who are inducing the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Choueguen.

The capture of the four English traders by Mr de Celoron's order last year,[62] has not prevented other Englishmen going to trade to the Vermillion river, where the Reverend Father la Richardie wintered.

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[61] See *Ibid.*, pp. 508-512.—Ed.

[62] The British subjects captured by Céloron's orders, were: Luke Irwin, an Irishman living in Pennsylvania, and an employee of George Croghan; he spoke the Shawnee language, and was accustomed to trade at the Scioto town. Joseph Fortiner (Faulkner) of New York, likewise an employee of Croghan and licensed by the governor of Pennsylvania. Thomas Burke (Bourke), an Irish inhabitant of Lancaster, and an employee of John Martin. The three were captured at Sandusky, and carried to Detroit. John Pattin of Pennsylvania was taken by De Villiers at Fort Miami, under pretext that he was laden with wampum and presents with which to seduce the Miami of that region into an agreement to remove to La Demoiselle's village. After a short detention in Detroit all four of the captive traders (Irwin, Fortiner, Burke, and Pattin) were sent by way of Niagara to Montreal. There they were interviewed by La Jonquière; see memoir designated *Conduct of the English Ministry* (several editions), appendix v. After a searching examination, in which it is claimed that they admitted that the English traders instigated Indians to murder Frenchmen, all the prisoners but Fortiner, who was ill, were sent to France, and imprisoned at Rochelle. In November, 1751, they appealed to the English authorities and were finally released; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 241. The whole incident was the occasion of much diplomatic fencing between

It has been reported to Mr Desligneris that other English traders had been to the Beautiful river and to the White river to trade, under the guidance of some Ouyatanons who were wintering there.

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the two nations; see *Id.*, vi. pp. 711, 731–733, and *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v., pp. 552–556; see also *Gist's Journals*, pp. 37, 108, 109.

Pattin left an account of his captivity, the manuscript of which is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, whose librarian, Dr. Samuel A. Green, has kindly furnished us with a copy, from which we extract the following:

"John Pattin of the Province of Pennsylvania, Indian Trader, says, that some time in Novr. 1750, he went with Goods a trading to the Miamis, otherwise called the Twigtwee Town which lies near the head of that Western Branch of the Ohio called by the English Miamis River, but by the French *La Riv: Rochers* or *Rocky River* and is about 200 Miles by Water & 100 by land to where it empties it self into the Ohio, and from there up to Log's Town is about 450 Miles by Water that this Miami Town was computed to have about 200 fighting men, all of the Twigtwee Nation settled therein and are some of those who left the french 7 or 8 Years ago in order to trade with the English. That being informed here that there were some Indians a hunting at the Cross (a place about 65 Miles from the Miamis Town where the French have erected a large Wooden Cross to be worshipped by their Traders who pass this way) he went thither & traded with them but wanting sundry Necessaries he went from thence to a Fort which the French have on the Branch of the Lake Erie called by them Miami River, thinking as there was peace between the English & French, he would be in no danger, but contrary to his expectation when he came there he was immediately seized & kept in close confined; that the River at the Fort is about three Rods wide, on the other side of which about a mile & half from the Fort is the French Miamis Town, where there are about 150 Indians the remainder of those who came over to the English as mentioned before; that the Fort is small, stock round with Pallisadoes and had at the time he was there a Capt. Lieut. & 50 Men, but that most of these men were traders, who were continually passing to & fro, & by what he could learn there were but about 9 or 10 who constantly resided there; that the French talk of destroying this Fort, & building one three Miles below on the other side of the River, in a Fork between the Miamis River & a River which leads to a Portage near the head of Wabach, that the Land from the English Miamis Town to the French Fort is for the most part

An English trader assured Mr de Joncaire that the Governor of Virginia was coming the beginning of September with 800 horses, to the Beautiful river to hold a council with the Chaouanons at Cheningué.[63]

Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to Mr de Villiers' garrison.

To so many circumstances equally critical, are superadded the scarcity of provisions, and great appearance of famine at our Southern posts.

Mr de Celoron writes, on the 12th of September, to Mr de la Jonquière that the Indian corn is worth twenty *livres* the

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Savannahs & Plains, but here & there some fine Timber Land interspersed that from hence he was sent under a guard of 9 Men to Fort Detroit, which is about 240 Miles by Water, that the passage to this Place is down Miamis River, which is full of small Falls, into Lake Erie & then up the Streights between Lake Erie & Huron, on the West side of which streight stands the Fort about 40 Rods from the River, that it is a large Pallisadoed Fort, containing about 100 small Log & other Houses that there are about 400 Men settled in & about the Fort, that they have got but one Swivell Gun mounted here, tho this is the most considerable settlement the French have in these Parts they raise Grain & most kind of Provisions to supply the other Forts about the Lakes; that great encouragement is given to young married People to settle there, the French designing to make it a large settlement if Possible; that the Streight is about a Mile across at the Fort, that there are Plantations all the way from Ft: Detroit to Lake Huron which is about three Leagues; that the French go in three days from Fort Detroit to Fort Sandoski, which is a small Pallisadoed Fort, with about 20 Men lying on the South side of Lake Erie, and was built the latter end of the Year 1750, that after being kept Prisoner about 4 Months at Detroit he was sent under a guard to Niagara Fort"—and thence to Toronto, Frontenac, Montreal, and Quebec. After a long confinement he was shipped from Quebec to Rochelle.—Ed.

[63] This treaty was actually held in June, 1752. Gov. Robert Dinwiddie appointed as commissioners therefor, Joshua Fry, Lumsford Lomax, and James Patton, who secured a confirmation of the Lancaster treaty of 1744. See "Dinwiddie Papers," Virginia Historical Society *Publications*, i, p. 6; *Plain Facts* (Phila., 1781), p. 38; and Goodman, *Journal of Captain William Trent*, pp. 83, 84.—Ed.

minot, payable in peltries and that he will possibly be obliged to send away some of the Canadians from Detroit owing to the want of provisions.

To add to the misfortunes, Mr Desligneris has learned that the Commandant of the Illinois would not permit the Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche, who had contracted with the King to supply the Miamis, Ouyatonons, and Detroit with provisions from the Illinois, to purchase provisions for the subsistence of the garrisons of those posts, on the ground that an increase of troops and families had arrived who would consume the stock at the Illinois.

Mr de St. Ange, Comandant at Fort Vincenne, does not state anything in this regard to Mr Desligneris; he merely says that he has no intelligence from the Illinois, and that he is still uncertain whether the convoy had arrived there.

Whatever augmentation of the troops and families may have taken place at the Illinois, 'tis certain that, on the receipt of the letter, Messrs. de la Jonquière and Bégon have written to the Commandant and Commissary of Fort Chartres, who will do their best in order that Messrs. Delisle and Fonblanche may perform their contract, unless they suffer from a similar scarcity to ours. The great difficulty is, the arrival of the General and Intendant's orders at their destination. Mr Desligneris sent them off on the 3d of January by 4 Mascoutins, but he doubts much if they will reach the Illinois; he knows not, even, that they will arrive at the post of Vincenne, on account of the enemies that encompass him.

The crops have also failed at the Beautiful river. Mr de Joncaire and the other Frenchmen have been reduced to a couple of handsful (*une jointée*) of Indian corn a day; neither meat, nor grease, nor salt.

Famine is not the whole scourge we experience; the smallpox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. One woman has died of it at the Huron village.

This disease prevails also at the Beautiful river.

'Twere desirable that it should break out and spread, gener-

ally, throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army.

Before the smallpox broke out at Detroit, 40 persons died belonging to the village of the Outtauois, and almost as many at the Pouteouatamis.

Kinousaki is likewise dead. We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.

Mr. de Celoron has again been told that the remainder of the fugitive Hurons will retire to Detroit this spring. The contagious disease will contribute a great deal to their return.

You are fully informed, my Lord, by the detail that I have just had the honor to submit to you:

1st That the expedition which Mr de Celoron was ordered to get up, did not take place.

2nd That the promises the Indians had made to the late Mr de la Jonquière were feigned, and that they are more in favor of our rebels than of us.

3d That the attack of the Nepissings has only rendered our rebels more dangerous.

4th That the Miamis have scalped two soldiers.

5th That the Pianguichias have killed 7 Frenchmen and two slaves.

6th That the same Nation had, shortly before, killed another Frenchman and two slaves.

7th That, according to what has been stated to M. de Joncaire, the Flatheads have scalped three Frenchmen and taken a 4th whom they delivered to the English with said scalps.

8th That we are menaced with a general conspiracy.

9th That we must fear even for Toronto.

10th That the English are the indirect authors of the murder of the French.

11th That famine at Detroit and its dependencies is quasi certain.

12th That smallpox is ravaging the whole of that Continent.

You perceive, my Lord, the sorrowful condition of the entire of that Upper Country.

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I shall dispatch this summer 400 Canadians, under the command of Chevalier de Longueuil, to Detroit, to proceed thence to winter at the other posts nearest our enemies. Next spring I shall send off five or six hundrd Canadians to form a junction with the former at the rendezvous to be designated by Mr de Longueuil. I shall transmit to him, then, my orders which I regulate according to his experience, and the accounts he will send me during the winter. I could not be beforehand with my orders, because our affairs will possibly change from one moment to another.

I shall not employ any Indians on this expedition, unless they offer to follow the French, to aid them in looking up the bones of their brethren.

Should Chevalier de Longueuil's mission be as successful as he and I dare hope, the Upper country will be free, and the French able to trade there in all surety. The Indian nations will return to their attachment to us, and then I shall have it in my power to adopt measures to oblige the English to disburse. But I must have the honor to observe to you, my Lord, that however fortunate this expedition may be, and whatever foresight I may have in closing the road on the English, their avidity will lead them to surmount all risks, and the Indians are capable, besides, of making by-roads to escape my vigilance.

My Lord, it would therefore be of infinite importance to limit the possession of the English, and that the boundaries of the two extremities of this Colony should be so firmly regulated that the English could not find any pretext to trouble us in our territory. I am persuaded that the capture of the four English traders by Mr de Celoron, and the letter Mr de la Jonquière had the honor to write you on the 16th of 7ber will not have contributed a little to accelerate the labors of the Commissioners. The tranquility of this Colony depends on their decision.

I am with most profound respect, My Lord, Your most humble and most obedient servant

LONGUEUIL.

1752: INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING THE INDIANS

[Letter from the French minister to Du Quesne,[64] dated May 15, 1752. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, serie B, Canada, vol. 95, folio 15."]

MARLY, May 15, 1752.

MONSIEUR—In the instructions the King has ordered me to send you on the various matters connected with the administration of your government, you will see that movements of rather considerable importance among the savages of the upper country are dealt with; and, by my answers to the letters written by Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquière to me on the subject, you will see what His Majesty's views are regarding what has occurred. The better to enable you to do what he expects of you in the matter—one of the deepest interest of all, you will have to deal with on your arrival in Canada, I am very happy to explain to you more particularly in this letter, which is for you alone, the principles by which His Majesty wishes you to be guided.

All the information we have received tells us that the trouble taken by the English and the expenses they incur to win over the savages are not without success among several Nations.

We were informed last year of the progress they had already made among the savages in the vicinity of the Ohio river, otherwise known as the Belle Rivière, where they have established

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[64] Ange du Quesne, Sieur de Menneville, came of an illustrious family of naval officers. Born in 1702, he entered the navy (1714), passing through the various ranks to commander of a vessel. Named governor of Canada in 1752, he was at the same time granted the title of marquis. He remained in Canada three years, and greatly invigorated and reinforced the service. Upon his retirement from the governorship (1755), he was made chief of squadron and continued to serve until 1776, when he retired with the rank of lieutenant-general. Du Quesne engaged in eighteen campaigns, and in 1759 was defeated by the English in a naval engagement. In 1763 he was chosen commander of the order of St. Louis, dying at Antony on the Seine, Sept. 17, 1778.—ED.

themselves since the peace. Monsieur de Lajonquière had reported a plan he had formed, both for the purpose of driving the English away from that river and of punishing the savages who had allowed themselves to be won over. That plan was to send several detachments of French and allied savages, who would meet at a rendezvous to be indicated to them, and afterwards act in accordance with the object of the expedition. Although there were remarks to be made regarding the details of Monsieur de Lajonquière's arrangements in this matter, nevertheless, as the fundamental idea of the plan was good, and as, moreover, it was to be carried out before such remarks could reach the governor, His Majesty deemed it advisable to approve what he had done. But we afterwards learned from his own letters that all the operations undertaken in execution of the plan resulted merely in the removal of some English traders with their goods and in the murder of two savages of the Miamis nation.

The removal of the English traders, whose goods were confiscated and even pillaged by our savages, cannot but have a good effect by disgusting the other traders through fear of the same fate. But the murder of the two Miamis may have unfortunate results; and, in fact, I have heard that it has already caused great commotion among the rebellious nations.

Monsieur de Lajonquière claims that if his expedition did not meet with the success that was expected of it, it was because Monsieur Celoron, major commandant at Detroit, which was to be the centre of all the operations, did not properly carry out the orders and instructions he had given him.

You will, as far as possible, ascertain the exact facts of the case, and report the same to me. But it would be useless to inquire into the errors that may have been committed. It is necessary that we start from the point where we now are, and establish some of the main points in order to be able to judge of the operations that may have to be undertaken there.

The English may pretend that by the treaty of Utrecht, we are obliged to allow the savages to trade with them. But it is

certain that nothing can oblige us to allow such trade on our own lands.

Thus, in all the alliances or kinds of treaty or words we have had with the remote savages, we have never expressly exacted that they should renounce going to trade with the English; we have merely exhorted them to do so; and we have never forcibly opposed ourselves to that trade.

The Ohio river and the rivers that flow into it belong, incontestably, to France. They were discovered by Monsieur de Lasalle; we have always had trading posts there since then; and our position is all the more unquestionable, that it is the most frequented way of communication between Canada and Louisiana. It is only a few years ago that the English ventured to trade there; and now they want to exclude us.

They have not, moreover, hitherto, pretended that those rivers belonged to them; their pretension is that the Iroquois are the masters thereof, and that, as they are the sovereigns of those savages, they can exercise their rights therein. But it is unquestionable that the Iroquois have no such rights and moreover that the alleged sovereignty of the English over them is a delusion. I shall have occasion to explain the reasons for this to you in another letter.

It is, nevertheless, of the highest importance that the progress of English pretensions and encroachments in that direction be checked. Should they be successful, they would cut our communications between the two colonies of Canada and Louisiana; and one can easily foresee the injurious effects of this on both, to say nothing of the advantages they would at once derive for their trade to the prejudice of ours.

The King proposes to complain to the English Court of all these innovations, and to ask it to give orders to have them stopped. But, however eager that Court may be to meet His Majesty's wishes for the maintenance of peace, such complaints cannot meet with success, at least very promptly; for, on the one hand, it is rather difficult to get conclusive proofs of the

most serious facts, and, on the other hand, the orders given in matters of that kind can be very easily eluded.

It is therefore necessary to act on the spot; and the only thing to be considered is the most suitable means of doing so to advantage.

We are unaware of what Monsieur de Lajonquière may have done this year. You will be informed of it on your arrival in Quebec. But whatever it may be, and whatever may have been the success of the same, if there still remains something to be done—as seems only too evident—your chief object must be to avoid, as far as possible, a war with the savages on this point.

As His Majesty himself observes to you in your instructions, such wars are always exceedingly costly; and it very rarely happens that the service derives any real benefit from them. You must even know that in most instances they are due solely to private interests, and that on all occasions you must be on your guard against the insinuations that may be made to you and the snares that may even be set for you in order to drag you into them.

Thus without undertaking, as Monsieur de Lajonquiere's idea seemed to be, to make the savages who have for some time been looked upon as rebellious or are suspected of being so, withdraw from the Ohio river, and without trying to take away the freedom of their trade, you must keep these two principal objects in view:

1. To make every possible effort to drive the English away from our lands in that region, and to prevent their coming there to trade, by seizing their goods and destroying their posts.

2. To make our savages understand at the same time that we have nothing against them, that they will be at liberty to go and trade with the English in the latter's country, but that we will not allow them to receive them on our lands.

If you attain these two ends, you will secure the tranquility of our possessions in that quarter; and, by so doing, it is certain that—provided magazines well stocked with goods be maintained there and our traders be prevented from laying

down the law to the savages—our trade will soon become greater than that of the English as it used to be; because everybody knows the savages do not like to go and trade in their towns or forts.

Such are the King's instructions as to your conduct in connection with all the movements now disturbing the upper country. There remains but to speak to you of one article relating thereto, and which was dealt with in a solemn council held by Monsieur de Lajonquiere in the month of July last with the Nontaguez of the five Iroquois nations in the presence of the chiefs of the domiciled Iroquois, of the Abenakis of St. Francois, and of the Outaouois of Michilimakinak. The Nontaguez stated in their speeches that the lands of the Ohio river belonged to them. Monsieur de Lajonquiere replied to them in such manner as to favor their pretension, by giving them to understand that the French would not establish themselves on those lands without their permission. The remark I have already made to you regarding the pretensions of the English must lead you to judge that such answer of Monsieur de Lajonquière has not been approved. In fact the King wishes you to take every opportunity to destroy the impression it may have produced and prevent the consequences that might arise therefrom by disabusing the minds of the Iroquois on this subject. As I have already told you, they have no right to the Ohio river. We had discovered it before they frequented that country; and we even frequented it when there were no other savages than the Choüanons with whom they were at war and who have always been our friends.

1752: EXPLOITING THE POSTS

[Letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 16, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 30.]

VERSAILLES, June 16, 1752.

MONSIEUR—Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere sent me, with his letter of the 25th of October last, a statement of the receipts and expenditure he had made with the proceeds of the leases of the post and of the licenses he has issued for the upper country.

From the knowledge you have already obtained of the affairs of the government, you are aware that only a few years ago the majority of the posts were farmed out, and that it has been arranged that out of the proceeds of these leases, and of the licenses which the Governor and Lieutenant General grants for the trade in the upper country, he is to take the allowances of the officers employed at the posts, and distribute something to poor widows of officers and give other aid by way of alms or charity to the amount of ten thousand livres per annum; and Monsieur de Lajonquiere's statement of accounts relates to that arrangement.

When it was decided to establish this system two chief objects were in view: one, to take away from the officers employed at the posts all interest in the trade carried on there, and thereby prevent abuses that would continually give rise to complaints on the part of the traders and of the savages; the other was to add to the King's treasury for the payment of the expenses of the posts.

It seems that those two advantages should effectively result from the arrangement in question. In fact, as the officers commanding the posts are no longer interested in the trade, they ought to be more inclined to see that it is carried on properly and without abuse; and thus it should be more advantageous.

It has, however, been represented to me that the exclusive right conferred by the leases is subject to drawbacks all the

more difficult to avoid that the majority of the officers commanding the posts are interested in the farming out, and the lessees are to a certain extent obliged to associate them in it; it has been proposed to me to do away with the farming out, and leave the trade free at the posts by imposing certain conditions on the traders who may wish to go there, either as regards the payment of licenses, or the transporting of provisions, or even supplying certain articles for the King's stores at certain posts.

This matter requires serious consideration. I beg you to give it special attention; and when you have obtained the necessary information to enable you to judge whether it is expedient to continue the farming-out system or to make any change in the same, you will please report to me thereon.

The post of Chagouamigon is one of those that are farmed out. The widow of the Sieur La Ronde, a captain, had been granted the enjoyment of one third of the proceeds of the lease for the period expiring this year, in consideration of the expense incurred by her husband in establishing that post from which he had not had time to obtain any benefit. Monsieur de la Jonquière has represented to me that that widow is in a condition requiring fresh assistance; and he has proposed to me to grant her the enjoyment of one third of the proceeds of the farming out of the post for a further term of three years. I find it objectionable to thus perpetuate a favor of that kind. Nevertheless, I rely upon you regarding what you may think should be done in favor of the Widow La Ronde, after obtaining information respecting her condition and that of her family which is said to be numerous. But, if she be really in need, I think it would be still better were you to make her participate in the distribution of aid you will have to make to the widows of officers by doing something more for her than for the others, in proportion to her wants.

1752: SAULT STE. MARIE

[Extract of a letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 16, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 34.]

VERSAILLES, June 16, 1752.

MONSIEUR—I reply to the letters written me by Monsieur the Marquis de Lajonquiere on the 4th, 5th, 6th, 25th, and 28th of October last year, regarding the establishment of various posts.

* * * * * * * *

In one of my despatches written last year to Monsieur de Lajonquiere, I had told him I had obtained approval for the construction of a fort at Sault Ste. Marie and the proposal to cultivate the land and raise cattle there. It is impossible not to approve the arrangements made for effecting such establishment. But we must take into consideration the fact that the cultivation of the land and the breeding of cattle must be the chief object, and the fur-trade merely an accessory. Nevertheless, as one can hardly hope to grow any other grain there than Indian corn, it will be necessary, at least for some time, to be satisfied with that and not to persist in trying to grow wheat. Even the care of the cattle must take precedence at that post over the cultivation of land, because as Detroit and the other Southern posts become settled they will supply an abundance of grain to the Northern posts, which will send them cattle in return.

* * * * * * * *

1752: THE TRADE AT DETROIT

[Letter from Longueuil, on business affairs. Document in Chicago Historical Society MSS., O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 215.]

MONSIEUR—I have received all the letters that you have done me the honor of writing me. receive if you please my sin-

cere thanks and pardon me for my negligence in not having replied to all the kind letters that you have written me. you do not acknowledge the receipt of a single letter. I believe, however that you will write more in the future I shall be more careful to renew to you the tender, warm and sincere assurances of my complete attachment You will be surprised at the smallness of the returns that I have made for you this year. If your merchandise had been of another kind it would have all been sold. I will make you an inventory tomorrow of all that remains for you. I owe you for 738^{lrs} 6^{s} 6^{e} price of the invoice.

I have given orders that what remains shall be remitted to the petit Blomb.

I have written to my father to credit you with the sum of a thousand livres in letter of exchange I informed him that there would remain 250^{lr} of indebtedness that you would pay next year That my dear sir is all that I could sell. that which I sent to ouitanont has come back to me in the same kind, and all spoiled [?] If I could have done better with my own buisness ventures I would have done what you asked of me. I sold my merchandise on credit without obtaining more peltry that fell into the hands of those who sold to the savages I have given you my news do the same by me and believe that I am always yours wholly Monsieur

Your very humble and very obedient servant

LONGUEUIL[65]

At DETROIT, August 3, 1752.

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[65] This was probably Charles Jacques Le Moyne de Longueuil, who commanded a convoy to relieve Detroit in 1752; see *ante*, p. 117. It has usually been attributed to his uncle, the Chevalier de Longueuil, who would hardly speak thus of his father, who had been dead for many years.—ED.

1752: GRANT OF LA BAYE

[Extract of letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Aug. 21, 1752. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 98, folio 15."]

MONSEIGNEUR—

* * * * * * * *

Monsieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil,[66] like an honest man, has told me the state of his affairs, which are embarrassed. Although I have only been a very short time in the Colony, Monseigneur, I have obtained reliable information that the Government entrusted to him is exceedingly expensive owing to The excessive expenses occasioned him by all who go to And come from Montreal. It is a ruinous custom at present on account of the Dearness of provisions, but with which a man occupying the position cannot refuse to comply. To set him on his feet I propose to you, Monseigneur, to grant him the post of la Baye on condition that it be exploited by the officer whom the governor-general shall find sufficiently capable and prudent to manage the great number of savages in that region.

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[66] This officer is noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 456. The following additional facts have been gathered from recently-published calendars of Paris manuscripts: François Vaudreuil, Marquis de Rigaud, was the eighth son of Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of Canada (1703–25). Born in 1703 (not 1705) he became lieutenant in 1724, and received the cross of St. Louis in 1738. At the close of King George's War (1748) he became king's lieutenant at Quebec, the following year being promoted to the governorship of Three Rivers. During the French and Indian War his services were important. In 1755 he was captured by the English in a vessel at sea. The following year, he ably seconded Montcalm in the capture of Fort Oswego. The year 1757 found him deeply engaged in the campaign of Lake George, wherein with much skill he commanded large forces of Canadians and Indians. The same year he was awarded the governorship of Montreal, left vacant at the death of Baron de Longueuil. After the capitulation of the colony, Rigaud retired to France, where he was pensioned for life. He died, probably at Tours, in 1779.—ED.

Moreover, Monseigneur, I must inform you that I have already noticed that the regularity of the service is infinitely better observed at Three Rivers than at Montreal.

I shall congratulate myself, Monseigneur, if all the reasons I truly set forth to you, could procure for Monsieur de Rigaud the post I urgently ask of you for him. That governor reports to you on the two fires at Three Rivers.

I remain with profound respect, Monseigneur. Your very humble and very obedient servant.

DUQUESNE.

QUEBEC, August 21, 1752.

1752: LANGLADE CAPTURES PICKAWILLANY

[Letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 25, 1752. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 23.]

MONSEIGNEUR—I have the honor to send you the Journal[67] of the Sieur de Langlade who has won much glory through the blow he struck the Band of la Demoiselle, and who brought me five Englishmen who were in the Miamis' fort. I am sending

[67] This journal of Langlade is not found with the letter, and appears to have been abstracted from the archives at a comparatively recent date; it is to be hoped that it will sometime be recovered. The document here given seems to be the only French account of this siege of Pickawillany. It is without doubt the authority for Parkman's account in *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1887), i, p. 81. The English sources are more numerous. Among these, the chief is *Journal of Captain William Trent*, already alluded to (*ante*, p. 114, note 63). Trent was a trader and interpreter employed by Virginia and the Ohio Company to assist at the treaty of Logstown in June, 1752. Thence he was deputed to carry the goods intended for the Miami, who had not appeared at the conference. Leaving Logstown June 21, the very day of the attack on Pickawillany, he soon heard rumors of this conflict; and when he reached the Scioto, found Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, the two traders who had escaped capture. They re-

them to Monsieur de L'abbady, Commissioner at la Rochelle so that he may put them in prison pending your orders. I trust that this blow, added to the complete pillage suffered by the English on this occasion, will discourage them from trading on our lands.

It is so rare, Monseigneur, that a war with savages can bring about a very stable peace that I should not be surprised if, at the instigation of the English, the Miamis were to ask their Allies for help. Nevertheless, I have had no news of it, and I hope that my action in the Belle Rivière country will awe all the Nations.

As the Sieur de Langlade is not in the service and has married a Savage woman, I will content myself with asking you,

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lated to Trent that on the morning of June 21, while most of the Miami were absent upon their summer hunt, a party of 240 French and Indians appeared, captured the women at work in the cornfields, and nearly surprised the traders, of whom eight were in the outbuildings around the fort. Three traders were besieged in a house, and acted in so cowardly a manner, surrendering without showing fight, that they revealed the weak condition of the fort. In the afternoon a truce was called, and the French leader proposed to retire if the traders were given up to them. It was finally agreed to yield them up on promise that they should not be harmed—but see on this point Jared Sparks, *Franklin's Works*, iii, p. 230. The besiegers did not keep faith, for although they surrendered the captive women, they killed one wounded trader, and, taking out his heart, ate it. They also killed chief La Demoiselle, and feasted on his remains. The Miami also broke their word by concealing the two traders before mentioned. After a few days Trent and a considerable company went to see what had become of the fort, and found it deserted. They brought back a few furs that had escaped the plunder of the savages, the loss having aggregated £3,000 sterling. A few of the Miami, including the widow and son of La Demoiselle, escaped to the Scioto town, but a large majority returned to the French. The Pennsylvania authorities sent the Miami the following year a present valued at £200 to "cover the dead." For additional details see *Penn. Colon. Recs.*, v. pp. 599, 600; Henry Howe, *History of Ohio* (Columbus, 1889–91), Shelby County; and George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1857), iv, pp. 94, 95. In Draper MSS. 1J1–7 there are transcripts from two contemporaneous newspapers, with additional details.—Ed.

Monseigneur, for a yearly pension of 200 livres wherewith he will be highly pleased. He is acknowledged here to be very brave, to have much influence on the minds of the savages, and to be very zealous when ordered to do anything.[68] It seems to

[68] Two published accounts of the life of Charles Langlade are to be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 195–295, being related by his grandson, Augustin Grignon, in 1857, to Lyman C. Draper; the other a sketch by Joseph Tassé, vii, pp. 123–188. In addition, the "Langlade Papers" were published in viii, pp. 209–223. Since that time there have been found further documents bearing on Langlade's career—most of these being incorporated in the present volume. These, together with the Mackinac Register, *post*, warrants the following new sketch. Charles Michel Langlade was born at Mackinac in May, 1729. If the incident related by Grignon of his accompanying troops at the age of ten be true, the expedition must have been that of Céloron against the Chickasaw, in 1739–40. Herein he would have met numbers of Canadian army officers from Montreal, and French and colonial troops from New Orleans. To this event was probably due his early enrollment in the army. Du Quesne must have been mistaken about Langlade's not being in service, for the Mackinac Register records him as being a cadet in 1750, when twenty-one years of age. The present reference to him is, so far as we have as yet ascertained, the first made in any contemporary official document. No doubt his services on the expedition of 1752 brought him prominently into notice. He was not legally married to an Ottawa woman, but early had a son by an Indian girl, whose descendants, living in Ontario, still carry the name of Langlade; see Ontario Hist. Soc. *Papers*, iii, p. 147. In 1754, at Mackinac, he legally married Charlotte Bourassa. While no doubt he for many years traded at La Baye (Green Bay) and elsewhere, there is ample and convincing evidence that until after September, 1764, his usual residence was at Mackinac. His part in the French and Indian War has been described by Grignon and Tassé. At its outbreak he was made ensign on half-pay, and campaigned against Braddock. The following winter he passed in a small post in Michigan, where (January, 1756) his daughter Charlotte was born. In 1756 he led a reinforcement of Indians to Fort Duquesne, and skirmished toward Fort Cumberland where Washington was in command. During the winter of 1756–57 he does not appear to have returned to Mackinac; at least he was in Montreal in December, and in January defeated a raid of Robert Rogers's famous rangers on Lake Champlain. In May, he was again in Montreal and led the Western Indians

me, Monseigneur, that such a reward would have a very good effect in the country.

I remain with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE.

QUEBEC, October 25, 1752.

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against Fort William Henry, where no doubt they participated in the massacre. In the autumn of 1757 Langlade was appointed second in command of Fort Mackinac, and appears to have remained there until the spring of 1759, when, with other Western partisan leaders, he served in the Quebec campaign. His share therein is explained by Tassé. His abilities gained him promotion (Feb. 1, 1760) to the rank of lieutenant on half-pay—his well-preserved commission, signed by King Louis at Versailles, is now the property of the Misses S. G. and D. B. Martin of Green Bay, but is deposited in the Society's library; it is one of the oldest original documents extant in Wisconsin, bearing upon the history of the State (see accompanying facsimile). He also participated in the defense of Montreal in the summer of 1760, and was sent back to Mackinac five days before its surrender. There he was in command after the departure of Beaujeu for Louisiana (see *post*), and finally surrendered the fort (Sept. 28, 1761) to the English under Capt. Henry Balfour of the 80th regiment (Light Armed Foot) and Lieut. William Leslie of the 60th (Royal Americans). During the next year and a half Langlade remained quietly in Mackinac, probably making trading voyages to the interior posts—doubtless La Baye among them. In April, 1763, he had planned to remove with his family to La Baye, and there establish his residence, but had not consummated this project when the conspiracy of Pontiac broke out, the fort at Mackinac being captured by the Indians (June 2, 1763). That he preserved the lives of the officers and part of the garrison, secured the neutrality of the turbulent Ottawa, and finally stayed the outbreak is abundantly proven by contemporary documents published herein. Ethrington, upon his departure for Montreal with the English survivors of the massacre, placed the command of the fort once more in the hands of Langlade, who retained it until September, 1764, when Capt. William Howard of the 17th regiment of foot was sent to re-establish British authority. It appears to have been either in the autumn of 1764 or during 1765 that the Langlades at last made their permanent home at Green Bay. In 1766, Robert Rogers, then commandant at Mackinac, addresses him as "Lieutenant Langlead at La Bay." At the outbreak of the Revolution, Langlade was sent with

1753: GRANT OF LA BAYE

[Extract from a letter from the French minister to Du Quesne, dated June 30, 1753. Source, same as preceding document, but "Amérique, série B, Canada, vol. 97, folio 45."]

VERSAILLES, June 30, 1753.

MONSIEUR—

* * * * * * * *

I have also submitted to the King your representations in favor of Monsieur de Rigaud. His Majesty having in view the making of other arrangements regarding the exploitation of the posts which it may be advisable to retain in the colony, had at first decided not to grant that of la Baye to that Governor as you had proposed. But I deemed it my duty to urge that proposal in order to procure some aid to Monsieur de Rigaud, who must in fact be in need of it owing to the expenses he is obliged to incur in his government of Three Rivers. His Majesty has been pleased to consent to your granting him the lease of that post, but for 2 years only, and he relies upon you as to the conditions you may deem advisable to impose in connection with its exploitation.

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savage auxiliaries to the aid of Carleton, who gave him a commission as captain in the Indian department. In 1777 he was again sent with native reinforcements for Burgoyne's army, but returned before the latter's surrender. In 1778 he was dispatched to Montreal. The following years of this war found him occupied in the West, chiefly against George Rogers Clark. The remainder of his life was devoted to private interests, his services for the king being, however, well recognized. His death must have occurred after January, 1800. See autograph letter, *post*.—ED.

1753: PEACE AMONG NORTHWESTERN TRIBES

[Extract from memoir of Legardeur de Saint-Pierre, May–Aug., 1753. Translated from Margry, *Découv. et Étab.*, vi, pp. 648–650.]

* * * * * * * *

I had it always in mind that I ought to find a favorable occasion to conclude peace between the Cristinaux and the Sioux. But far from finding such an occasion, the stroke that the Sioux made upon the Cristinaux in July, 1752, greatly hindered my project. M. Marin junior was not less occupied than I in arranging this peace. He wrote to me the twenty-ninth of February, 1753 last, that the Sioux of the Rivers and the Lakes were very much disturbed, and did not cease to fear that the Cristinaux would take vengeance upon them for the attack previously mentioned. The Sioux desired to have an interview with the Cristinaux, with whom they were resolved to ally themselves to go and make war upon the Sioux of the Prairies, who continually were attacking them, and even carrying away their women as prisoners.[69] He said that for this purpose, he would bring to Missilimakinak several chiefs of that nation, and invited me to bring likewise with me the Cristinaux chiefs. That letter reached me May 26, at the foot of Ouenipik river.[70] It gave me extreme pleasure, all the more that the Sioux of the Prairies, who had dealt the blow had no Frenchmen among them, and in consequence were of little im-

[69] The question of the classification of the Sioux is an exceedingly difficult one. See on this subject, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 193, 194; and "Maximilian's Travels" in *Early Western Travels*, xxii, p. 305. The classification here used—Sioux of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the prairies—was in vogue during the latter years of the French regime. It would seem to refer to habitat rather than gentes; but, as in this instance, the bands often acted in opposition to one another.—Ed.

[70] St. Pierre was at the post technically known as Fort Maurepas, and built by Le Vérendrye in 1734. In voyageur parlance it was known as Fort Bas de la Rivière (Foot of the River), being at the entrance to Winnipeg River from the lake of that name. The later fur-trading post on that site was called Fort Alexander. See "Franchère's Narrative" in *Early Western Travels*, vi, p. 378.—Ed.

portance to us. I communicated the contents of that letter to the Cristinaux in a council that I held with them, and I persuaded that nation to trust me with three of their chiefs to accompany me to Missilimakinak.

* * * * * * * *

I left the foot of Ouenipik River June 18, with the three Cristinaux chiefs, to proceed to the Grand Portage[71] and thence to Missilimakinak. July 10 I found at the lake of the Woods, with the Cristinaux of that post, two of their people who had long been prisoners among the Sioux of the Rivers and of the Lakes. These had sent them to carry their message to the Cristinaux, to prove their extreme desire to live on good terms with them and to conduct them to a rendezvous in case the deputies of the two nations could not unite at Missilimakinak.

* * * * * * * *

We arrived at the Petits Ecores[72] the seventh of August, where I met the chevalier de la Corne, who told me that M. Marin junior had been at Missilimakinak with several Sioux chiefs, that not being able to await my arrival, he had left to return to his post with the aforesaid chiefs. This news determined me to send back my deputies of whom M. de la Corne took charge. I do not doubt but that these two nations will live in peace.

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[71] For this locality, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 426.—Ed.

[72] This locality has not been definitely identified. The term "petit ecores" means a place where the land drops sheer into the water, but at no great height; it is also applied to the bed of a river or lake, so a good landing place in deep water is called *ecore;* so is a place where you wade out and then drop suddenly into deep water. There are many places on the north shore of Lake Superior that would answer one of these definitions.—Information sent by Lawrence J. Burpee, Librarian Carnegie Library, Ottawa, Canada.

1754: LANGLADE'S MARRIAGE CONTRACT

[Translated from MS.,[73] dated Aug. 11, 1754, in possession of Wisconsin Historical Society.]

Before the Undersigned Royal notary Residing at the post of Michilimakinac, and the undermentioned witnesses, came and appeared Charles Moras, Esquire, Sieur Langlade the younger, for Himself and on his own behalf—of the one part;

[And Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa—of the other part.]

The said parties, acting of their own free will and inclination, in the presence and with the advice and consent of their relatives and friends hereinafter mentioned, to-wit:

On behalf of Sieur Langlade:—Sieur Augustin Moras, Esquire Sieur Langlade, and Domitilde, his father and mother; Sieur Blondeau and Demoiselle Nanette Vilneuve, his Brother-in-law and Sister;[74] Sieur Nicolas Vollan, Cousin; Demoiselle Anne Villeneuve, his Sister;[75] Monsieur Herbin, Captain of infantry Commandant for the King;[76] Sieur

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[73] This manuscript, with several others that follow in chronological order, was presented to the Society in 1903 by members of the Grignon family. They supplement the documents known as the "Langlade Papers" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 209–223.—Ed.

[74] Langlade's mother was a sister of the Ottawa chief La Fourche. Her first husband was Daniel Villeneuve, by whom she had several children. The eldest daughter was Anne (Nanette), who married as her second husband (1745) the Sieur Blondeau.—Ed.

[75] Nicolas Volant, born in 1701 at Montreal.

This must be Agathe (not Anne) Villeneuve, Langlade's half-sister. She first married Boisguilbert, secondly Pierre le Duc *dit* Souligny, thirdly Amable Roy, and died at Green Bay leaving no children.—Ed.

[76] Louis Herbin, son of a colonial officer, was born in 1711, made second ensign at the age of sixteen, and ensign "en pied" at twenty-four. His lieutenancy dated from 1742, and the following year he was given command of Fort Chambly. During King George's War (1744-48) he was stationed at Crown Point, and made several effective raids in the direction of Saratoga. He was commandant at Mackinac (apparently 1754-57), and in the last-named year led the Indians in the Lake Champlain campaign. In 1759 he was decorated with the cross of St. Louis,

Mantet, friend; Sieur Lamy Hubert, friend; Charles Gautier, nephew.[77]

And on behalf of the said Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa:—Sieur Réné Bourassa and Dame Lerigé Laplante, her father and mother; Sieur Réné Bourassa, the younger, her brother;[78] Sieur Gonneville, the younger, Cousin German;[79] Réné Bourassa, nephew; Demoiselle Nanette Chevalier, Sister-in-law; Monsieur Delaunay Detisné, Esquire, Sieur Daillebout, friend;[80] Monsieur Marin, an officer of infantry, friend;

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and during the siege of Quebec occupied an important outpost. At its close he was sent to France, where he was pensioned by the king and lived in Alençon until about 1784. He married (1741) Marie Anne Boucher, and had one son in the service, who was slightly wounded at Quebec.—Ed.

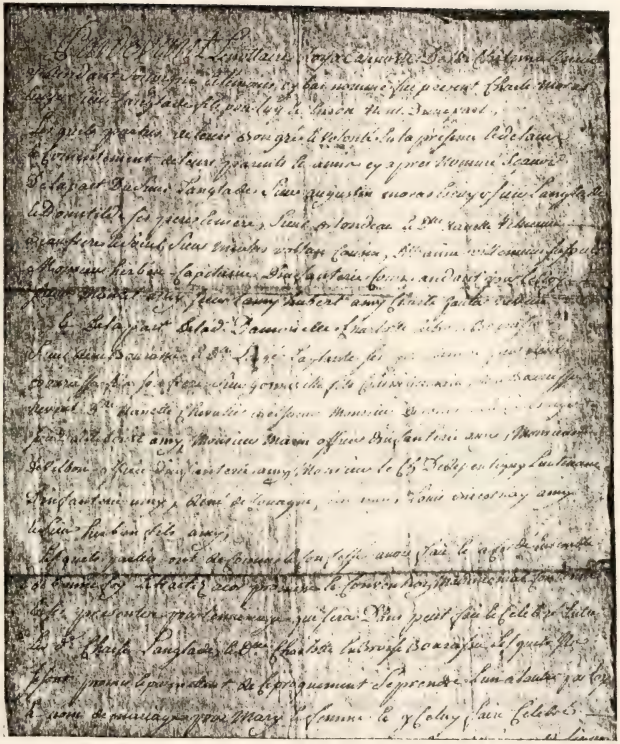
[77] Joseph Amable Hubert, merchant of Mackinac, was frequently known as Monsieur Lamy Hubert.

For a brief sketch of Gautier, Langlade's nephew, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 100. His father and mother had, before 1740, returned to Canada where the latter died in 1749, and the former in 1757. The young Charles Gautier was left at Mackinac to live with his mother's family.—Ed.

[78] René Bourassa was born in Montreal in 1688, and there was married (1710) to Agnes Gagné. Their only son who lived, was René the younger, born in 1718 and married at Mackinac to Anne Charlotte Chevalier. This René died at Detroit in 1792. René the elder married (1721), for his second wife, Marie Catherine Leriger, daughter of Sieur de la Plante of the colonial army. Their youngest child was Charlotte Ambroise, born June 14, 1735, she being nineteen years old at the time of her marriage. Her father was in the upper country (region of the upper great lakes) before 1737, and finally settled at Mackinac, where he brought his family. Madame Langlade died about 1818, at her daughter's home in Green Bay.—Ed.

[79] Charlotte, the younger sister of Madame Bourassa (wife of the elder René) had married Charles Desjordis de Gonneville; thus their son was cousin to the bride.—Ed.

[80] The Chevaliers were a prominent Mackinac family (see Register, *post*). Originally from Montreal, Jean Baptiste was born there in 1677, and there married (1709) Marie Françoise (commonly known as Manon) Alavoine. The father was an early voyageur and trader in the upper country, whither he removed his family some time before



MARRIAGE CONTRACT BETWEEN CHARLES LANGLADE AND CHARLOTTE BOURASSA

Dated, August 11, 1754. Reduced facsimile of part of first page of original

Monsieur The Chevalier De Repentigny, Lieutenant of infantry, friend; Réné de Couange, the younger, friend; Louis Biscornay, friend, and Sieur Herbin, the younger, friend.[81]

Which said parties have Acknowledged and Admitted that they have stipulated and agreed Together in good faith to the matrimonial promises and Covenant herein contained regarding the marriage to be shortly Celebrated Between the said Charles Langlade and Demoiselle Charlotte Enbroise Bourassa who have mutually promised and do promise to take One another for Husband and wife under the law and name of marriage, the same to have Celebrated and solemnized before our mother the Holy Catholic, apostolic and Roman Church as soon as possible and as shall be advised and decided Between Them, their relatives, and friends.

The said future Consorts shall Be One and common as to Property for all Moveable and Immoveable Acquisitions they

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1719. He died shortly before 1752, and his wife in 1756, leaving a numerous family that intermarried with the best families of the upper posts. This daughter, Anne Charlotte Veronique (Nanette), was born in Mackinac in 1726, and in 1744 married René Bourassa the younger, as explained *ante*, note 78.

A Canadian, Louis Delaunay, married an Illinois woman in 1694. Dutisné was an Illinois officer (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, index); this witness was probably an Illinois descendant of these two families.

The Sieurs d'Aillebout were early connected with the upper country. In 1733 they were with De Villiers at La Baye, where one of them was wounded. In 1743 one had bought the lease of La Baye—see *Id.*, xvii, index. Joseph d'Aillebout de Coulange, probably he who signed here, married at Mackinac (1753) Marianne Parent, and had died by 1755.—Ed.

[81] For these officers, see *ante*, p. 4, note 8; p. 35, note 54.

René de Couange was of a good Montreal family. He had English affiliations, and acted as agent for Sir William Johnson among the Iroquois. After the conquest he was official interpreter at Niagara. He appears to have been frequently at Mackinac; see Register, *post*.

Louis, son of Pierre Caillé *dit* Biscornet was born in 1720, and married at La Prairie (1752) Marie Anne Bisaillon.

The younger Herbin was made second ensign in 1757, accompanied his father to France, and was living there in 1784.—Ed.

may have and acquire together during their future marriage under the Coutume de Paris, in force in this country.

Neither of the said future Consorts shall, however, be responsible for the debts of the other incurred previous to their Marriage. If any there be, they shall be paid and acquitted by the Consort who shall have incurred the same without the other being in any way liable therefor.

The said future Consorts take one another with all their Rights, Titles, suits-at-law and claims as the same may exist.

The said future Husband has and does dower his said future Wife with the sum of three thousand livres as conventional dower, the same, when once paid, to be taken from and upon each and every the moveable and immoveable properties now or hereafter owned by the said future Husband which he hereby pledges, hypothecates and gives a lien upon and also guarantees to supply and maintain the same; The said Dower to be enjoyed according to The said Coutume.

The survivor of the said future Consorts shall have and take his or her portion apart and from the Property of the said Community To the amount of the sum of fifteen Hundred Livres according to the valuation to be made of the same, and without Confusion, or one half the said sum in Cash at the Choice of the said survivor.

And in the event of the Dissolution Of the said future marriage, it shall be lawful for the said future Wife to take or accept the said Community or to Renounce the same; and in the event of Renunciation of the said Community, She may take back, free and clear of all charges, whatever she may have brought with her or may have come to her by inheritance, Gift or otherwise with her dower as aforesaid without Being liable for any debts or obligations incurred or given during the said Community, although she may have obliged herself or Have Been Condemned thereto, Wherefrom She shall be freed and wherefor she shall be indemnified out of the Property of her said husband or by his heirs, and for which reprise and indemnity are given. She shall have her claim from this day upon

each and every the present and future Properties of the said future Husband.

The said parties have constituted and do constitute The bearer of these presents as their general and special attorney, giving Him all powers for obtaining the authentication thereof. All that is above contained and stipulated has been said, covenanted and agreed upon between the Appearing and Contracting parties in executing these presents—Which, otherwise and without the Clauses and Covenants therein Contained, Would not have been executed.

For thus, promising, obliging and renouncing, etc.

Done and executed in the office of the said Notary in The year one thousand, seven Hundred and Fifty-four, on The Eleventh of August, in the afternoon, in the presence of the Sieurs [Repetition of names, omitted].

In view and Contemplation Of the said future marriage and on account of the affection the said Husband has for the said future Wife, he has given and by these presents he gives irrevocably to the said future Wife, her heirs and Assigns, Thereof accepting, each and every the properties that may belong to him after his death, provided that at the time of such death there be no child Living issue of the said future marriage, For, in the Event of there being any such child, the said Gift shall be null and void As if it had never existed.

In return for the above, the said future Wife Gives the future Husband the enjoyment of all her properties, both her own proper and the Acquisitions and Goods that may belong to her after her death, provided there be no child issue of the said marriage; For, in the event of there being such a child, the said Gift shall be null and void as if it had never existed. The said Gift of the enjoyment for life of the property granted to the said future Husband during his lifetime to be subject to the Obligation of keeping the houses and heriditaments in good order; of making the usual repairs thereto that are required of

[82] This is one of the usual notarial formula in all deeds.—CRAWFORD LINDSAY.

an usufructuary during his life-time; of delivering the same over in good Order when the usufruct Constituted by the said Gift ends, and of having the said present Gift registered Wherever the same may be necessary.

The said parties have constituted and do constitute The bearer of these presents Their General and special attorney, giving Him all powers.

For thus, promising, obliging, Renouncing, etc.

Done and executed, after this contract was duly Read in the presence of the parties, their relatives and friends who signed the original of the same with the said Notary, after it was Read according to the ordinance.

CARDIN[83]
Royal Notary.

By order of Sieur Jacques Joseph Guiton, Councillor of the King, Lieutenant-general of the Royal jurisdiction of Montreal, issued on Friday, the eighteenth April, one thousand seven Hundred and sixty, the gifts set forth in the above transcribed contract of marriage were registered and recorded in the Registre des insinuations [Register of Records] of this Court by the Clerk and the Undersigned at the request of the said Sieur De Langlade, bearer of the said Contract of marriage, made on the said day.

[Signature illegible.]

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[83] François Louis Cardin went to Mackinac as a soldier in the garrison. Having married (1751) Constance Chevalier, widow of Joseph Ainse, he remained in the upper country and was made royal notary, which office he held until the coming of the English.—ED.

1754: THE UPPER POSTS

[Extract from a letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 13, 1754. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 262, 263.]

My Lord—I have the honor to report to you what occurred at the posts during the year.

The Indians of the North are very quiet because Sieur Marin, who commands at The Bay and leads the Indians at will, has procured repose for them by the peace he has caused to be concluded with the Christinaux.

The Sauteux of Camanestigwia and Michipicoton have had a difficulty among themselves. Seventeen of them have been killed, but this animosity, which is at present abated, has been prejudicial only to the hunting, and they are now quiet.

Chevalier de Repentigny, who commands at the Sault St. Mary, is busily engaged with the settlement of his post, which is essential for stopping all the Indians who come down from Lake Superior to Chouegueu, but I do not hear it said that this post yields a great revenue.

The Poutwatamis, Kickapoux, Mascoutins and Scioux of the Prairies, have assembled together to go and destroy the Peorias, who, for a long time, regard with insolence the other Indians; they are, moreover, people of no faith, who steal with impunity, even in their neighbors' cabins.

This war, in which I am not at all interested, can be productive only of a good effect in putting down such banditti; I have, nevertheless, ordered the Commandants to adjust all matters after these rascals will have received a sharp lesson.

As I had fixed for the Peanguichias to be at the Miamis where Sieur Péan would pass,[84] and as those Indians have wait-

[84] Michel Jean Hugues Péan was born in Canada in 1723, son of Sieur de Livaudière, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 205. The younger Péan, after having served in Acadia, was assistant to his father as town-major of Quebec (1745). In 1750 he was ordered to France, but returned to Canada before the coming of Du Quesne, with whom he was a favorite. He was sent out in 1753 as second in com-

ed for that officer with all possible patience, nearly a month, evincing great repentance for their fault, I have ordered the Commandant of the Wyatanons, whither that nation had retired, to grant them pardon on condition that they would bring me, next year, the murderers; by this means it may be calculated that these Indians have at present submitted.

1754: RIGAUD AND THE LEASE OF LA BAYE

[Letter from Du Quesne to the French minister, dated Oct. 31, 1754. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 99, fol. 311."]

MONSEIGNEUR—I have the honor to inform you that Monsieur de Rigaud Vaudreuil, governor of Three Rivers, has urgently asked me leave to go to France to endeavor to restore his health as he is convinced that the physicians of Paris will cure him completely. I have not deemed it advisable to refuse him such permission, because, in his present state, he is hardly able to perform the duties of his government wherein the closest attention to details is required.

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mand under Marin to build the forts on the upper Ohio, and then to proceed down that river and receive the submission of the chastised Miami. He was, however, detained in the region of Rivère au Bœuf until too late in the season to move southward. He thereupon cut the portage road at Chautauqua (Oct., 1753) and returned to Canada. The year 1754 found him again on the Ohio, whence he was ordered to visit the upper posts, via Presqu'isle and Detroit. In 1755 he was made major of Montreal, and the next year was awarded the cross of St. Louis. Through the connection of his wife with Bigot, the intendant, Péan was concerned in the dishonest plundering of the king's stores. In 1757 and 1758 he provisioned the armies on Lake Champlain, and in the latter part of the second year went to France, ostensibly for his health, in reality to protect the association of peculators. On the downfall of New France, he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained several years—finally gaining release on the payment of a fine of 600,000 francs. In 1765 he was living quietly in Paris, where he probably died.—ED.

On my arrival in this colony, I reported to Monsieur Rouillé that I gave the post of la Baye to that governor on the statement of his affairs he communicated to me, and, although at the time I showed him the answer of that minister who granted it to him for two years only, and who left the conditions that were to be imposed on him to me, he was given to understand here that, holding such post from the Court, he was not subject to any lease. This led him to speak very unadvisedly to everybody and even induced him to write to me that he held that post gratuitously from the King and consequently had no rent to pay.

I had much trouble in making him see his error, and still more in getting the lease of his post from him, because his vanity led him to wish to have recourse to your decision, notwithstanding the orders I was compelled to give him a second time.

I cannot refrain from telling you, Monseigneur, that this Governor, who through kindheartedness allows himself to be persuaded by the first-comer, has caused me more trouble to restrain than the whole colony since he has known that Monsieur his brother is to succeed me. I respect your time too much, Monseigneur, to enter into details regarding his ill-advised conduct. It will suffice me that he present himself to you to allow of your judging his capability.

I remain with profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

DUQUESNE.

QUEBEC, October 31, 1754.

1754: ROUTES TO THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Information furnished probably by John Pattin. MS. in Massachusetts Historical Society; pressmark, 61L93.]

The French have several different Routs by which their trade is carried on between Canada & Mississippi & the numerous

Tribes of Indians that live about the Lakes & Rivers between them. The first is by the River Outaouais [Ottawa] which rises from Lake Nipising & empties it self into the River S^t^. Law^ce^ a little above Mont Real, they go up this River into Lake Nipising from this Lake by the River François to Lake Huron and along the whole length of the Lake to Missilimakinak on the West side of the Lake. This passage is very tedious and difficult its being on account of the vast Number of Falls and also its being all the way against the Stream,[85] and yet is very frequently made use of by the Indians & Traders rather than the passage by the Lakes, because whenever there is a high wind if they go by the Lakes they are obliged to lay by as long it lasts, their tender Canoes not being able to live amongst the large Waves that are then raised in these inland Seas. The Passage from Mont Real to this place generally takes up about three Months. I do not know of any Fort the French have in this Rout but at this place, which has formerly been a place of very great trade, and had formerly a fort with a Garrison of about thirty Soldiers, but now there are but three or four Soldiers with a subaltern maintained here.[86] Another and an easier Passage to Missilimakinac is from Mont Real up the River S^t^. Lawrence to Lake Ontario which is about 80 Leagues this upon account of the rapidness of the River and the Falls, of which there are five, is never performed under Twenty days & sometimes it requires twice that time Between Mont Real & Lake Ontario the French have two Forts one about twelve Leagues above Mont Real, the other about forty Leagues from

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[85] The usual route to the upper country. Many descriptions exist of this voyage. Among the best are those of Lahontan in 1688; see Thwaites, *Lahontan's New Voyages* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 218, 219; Henry in 1761, see Bain, *Henry's Travels* (Boston, 1901), pp. 13–36; Franchère in 1814, see *Early Western Travels*, vi, pp. 397–399.—Ed.

[86] This appears to be an exaggeration, for until the downfall of New France the commandant at Mackinac was always of the rank of captain, save for a brief period when Lieut. Charles Langlade, second in command, succeeded to full control.—Ed.

the Lake.[87] On the north side of Lake Ontario near where it discharges it self into the River S^t. Lawrence is situated Fort Frontenac which is built entirely of Stone & is about 100 Yards Square, and mounts ten Carriage Guns 6 Pounders about Forty Leagues from this on the North side of the Lake is Fort Trunto [Toronto] which the French began to build but a few years ago. In the Year 1750 it was not finished had no Cannon, but had Embrazures made for that Purpose this Fort was built to prevent the Indians (who used to cross the Lake at this Place) from going to Oswego. From Fort Frontenac they proceed on Lake Ontario, about eighty Leagues to the Falls of Niagara. Upon this Lake the French have two or three Vessels of 60 or 70 Tons. The Falls occasion a Portage of about three Leagues after which they reimbark and pass to Lake Erie. At the West End of the Falls the French have a Fort about 80 Yards long & fifty Yards broad mounted with five Carriage & five Swivel Guns besides some Chamber peices and about [above] the falls they have built a strong Stone trading house. By this trading house & Fort, & the two Forts on the North side of the Lake they have stopped a great part of the trade of the Indians to Oswego and gained it to themselves. From Niagara Fort to the East End of Lake Erie is about 20 Leagues. This Lake they sail over above one hundred Leagues. In the year 1750 the French built a small palisadoed fort and garrisoned it with about twenty men upon a river on the south west side of Lake Erie.[88] From Lake Erie they sail about 12 Leagues to Fort Detroit. This is a large Pallisadoed Fort containing about 100 small Log & other

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[87] The latter of these was La Presentation, a mission and fort, for which see *ante*, p. 37, note 57. The former was probably Fort St. Regis, at the site of the Jesuit mission of that name. In 1751, Père Antoine Gordon led a party of Caughnawaga to St. Regis Island, just below Cornwall, Ont., and there built a picket fort around which he clustered his neophytes.—Ed.

[88] This fort at Sandusky, built in 1750, was occupied but a short time. Apparently after the razing of Pickawillany, it ceased to be of use. In 1754 De Léry found the ruins at the southeastern end of

houses. There are four hundred men settled in and about this fort. They raise Grain & most kind of Provisions. Often four hundred traders meet here at a time. From Fort Detroit they sail to Lake Huron three Leagues, all which way the French have Plantations. Upon Lake Huron they proceed to Missilimakinac One Hundred & twenty Leagues. From Missilimakinac they have two Routs to Missisippi. The first is from Missilimakinac ninety Leagues on the Lake Illinois to the Lake de Puans, thence to the River d'Puans eighty Leagues.[89] Thence up the same to a Portage of about four Miles over to the River Ouisconsing[90] thence forty Leagues to the River Missisippi. From the Mouth of Ouisconsing River to the Mouth of the River Missisippi in the Bay of Mexico is computed 550 Leagues. The other is from Missilimakinac to the Lake Illinois four Leagues, thence one hundred & fifty Leagues on the Lake to the river Chigagou, up the River Chigagou they sail but three Leagues to a Portage of a quarter of a League, then they enter a small lake of a mile, and have another small Portage to the River Illinois[91] thence down the same one hundred &

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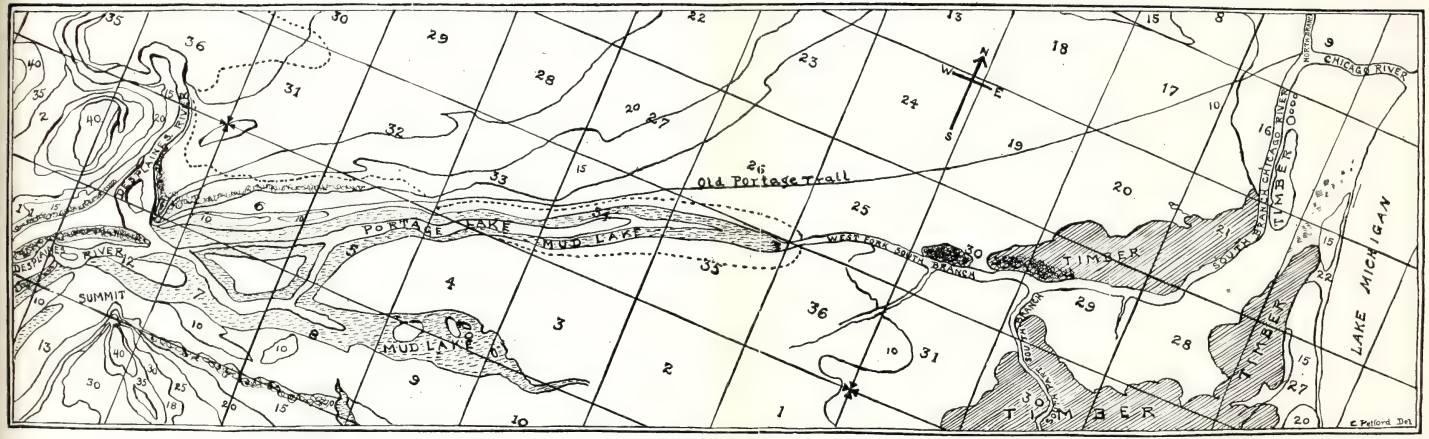
the portage from Lake Erie, on the northwestern side of Sandusky Lake or Bay. The fort that the Indians destroyed in Pontiac's conspiracy (1763) was a new post built by the English in 1761. Note this correction of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 236, note 2.—Ed.

[89] "Lake de Puans" is the modern Green Bay, which from its size was frequently termed "Lac" on French maps. The writer intends to say that it was ninety leagues to the entrance of Green Bay, and eighty leagues up its length to the mouth of "River d'Puans" (Fox River). This is an exaggeration of the distance from Mackinac to the mouth of Fox River, which in reality is about 240 miles. The distances appear to be exaggerated throughout this entire memoir.—Ed.

[90] The portage on the site of the modern town of Portage, Wis., was a marshy plain about a mile and a half in length.—Ed.

[91] The portage trail at Chicago left Chicago River where the north and south branches unite, and passed over the prairie in a direction slightly south of west to a depression, or slough, known as Mud (or Portage) Lake, thence into Desplaines River. The distance varied with the season of the year and the consequent height of water. In the course of forming the drainage canal, this slough has been filled. It extended east from Summit, in Lyons Township, and was in reality

te of Chicago, in possess



THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

From the first United States government survey (*ca.* 1820) of the region of the portage and site of Chicago, in possession of the Chicago Historical Society

thirty Leagues to Missisippi. The River Illinois empties itself into Missisippi One hundred & fifty Leagues below Ouisconsing. These were the only Routs that the French were acquainted with formerly from Canada to Missisippi. The next that they discovered which is a shorter one was to sail thro' the Lakes to the West end of Lake Erie where it receives the River Miamis thence on that River about 80 Leagues to a portage of about three Leagues. This River has many small Falls & ripling places. The French have a fort near the Portage.[92] Then upon a small shallow River forty Leagues to the River Oubasch & on that River one hundred & Twenty Leagues to where it Joins the River Ohio, thence eighty Leagues down Ohio to Missisippi, thence three hundred & fifty Leagues to the Bay of Mexico. It is but lately they have been fully acquainted with the Shortest & best Rout which is to proceed but a little way upon Lake Erie then to embark upon a small River that comes into the Lake on the south side on which they proceed to a portage of [blank] miles then embark on the River o Beauf which falls into the Ohio this is so much more convenient both for a Passage & for connecting the two extremities

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part of the west fork of the south branch of Chicago River. See map of portage path in 1820, in Thwaites, *Mrs. Kinzie's Waubun* (Chicago, 1901), p. 146.—Ed.

[92] For the location and history of Fort Miami, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 131. The distance from Lake Erie is about as given here, or 180 miles. There were two portages on the headwaters of the Maumee (Miami of the Lakes): One from St. Mary's to Little River, about eight miles in length, varying with the season, and thence for a few miles down Little River to the Wabash proper. The one here described was the portage from just above the forks of the Maumee and St. Joseph to Eel River, which parallels the Wabash for many miles. According to Croghan, this portage was nine miles in dry weather and half as many during freshets; see his "Letters and Journals" in *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 148–150. This route via the Maumee and Wabash was the chief trade-route of that region during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, after the Fox wars had made the two former-mentioned portage routes unsafe. It has been called the Indian Appian Way.—Ed.

of the French Possessions together and for cutting of[f] all communication between the English & the Indians & the securing them & their trade to themselves that the French are determined at all events to make themselves masters of it if possible for this purpose besides the Forts already mentioned that command the most important passes upon & out of the Lakes, They last Year marched a large Army of French Indians from Canada & another from Missisippi to the Ohio built a large Fort mounted with Cannon near the carrying place to the River o beauf and another within Fifteen Miles of that on this River, have this Year [1754] seized a Fort built by the Govnm^t. of Virginia on the Forks of Monongahela where that River empties it self into the Ohio[93] and they propose another Fort within a Few miles at a Place called Logs Town the chief place of Resort of the Indians that live at the Southward of the Lakes & upon the Ohio or the Rivers that run into it. They have also lately, built a small Fort where the River Oubasch joins the River Ohio.[94]

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[93] Forts Presqu'isle and Le Bœuf were built in the summer of 1753, by the expedition under Sieur Marin, the former on the site of Erie, the latter at Waterford, Pa. At the latter fort Washington met Le Gardeur de St. Pierre in December, 1753. In the spring of 1754 Fort Machault was built by the expedition under Sieur Contrecœur, who later seized the stockade begun by the Virginia troops on the site of Pittsburgh, and erected there Fort Duquesne—Ed.

[94] No fort was built by the French at Logstown, but they here erected numbers of log huts for the use of the tribesmen. The report of a fort at the mouth of the Wabash probably arose from the following circumstance: When Marin was sent out with his expedition in 1753, the commandant of the Illinois was ordered to send by way of the Ohio a convoy with provisions to join the Canadian detachment. Accordingly one hundred men with a large quantity of provisions, under the command of Captain de Mazilières, left the Illinois on Sept. 1, 1753. When this expedition reached the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), Lieutenant de Portneuf was detached on a reconnoissance by land. After some blind wanderings, he finally arrived at the Shawnee village at the mouth of the Scioto, where information was received of Marin's expedition. But on the chiefs assuring Portneuf of the hostile disposition of the savages, and that his own life

From Logs Town to the Mouth of the River Oubasch is near 600 Miles from thence to Missisippi eighty leagues from thence to the Bay of Mexico thence [three] hundred & fifty Leagues.

1755: LANGLADE COMMISSIONED ENSIGN

[Commission to Charles Langlade, dated March 15, 1755. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Colonies, civil and military officers, série D, vol. 2, fol. 101½."]

From the King.

His Majesty, having chosen Sieur Langlade to serve as Ensign unattached with the troops maintained in Canada, orders the Governor, his Lieutenant-General of New France, to receive and acknowledge him in such capacity of Ensign unattached of all those to whom and as the same may appertain.[95]

Given at VERSAILLES the 15th March, 1755.

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was in danger, he hastily decamped during the night, and made the best of his way back to the Illinois. Receiving no news from Portneuf or Marin, and his men deserting in numbers, de Mazilières built a small post of pickets, cached his provisions, and returned to the Illinois, where he arrived Nov. 19. Portneuf arrived a few days later. This abortive expedition is related in a letter of Chevalier de Kerlérec, governor of Louisiana, and is printed in Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1903), pp. 55–57.—ED.

[95] This commission was found in a volume where a series of formula, or sample commissions, is given for reference—this one having happened to be chosen for that purpose. It authenticates the commission of lieutenant given Feb. 1, 1760, to the same officer, now on deposit in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society (and published *post*), since it is drawn in precisely the same terms, rank and date only varying.—ED.

1755: INSTRUCTIONS FOR VAUDREUIL

[Source, same as preceding document, but série B, vol. 101, fol. 3.]

Memorandum from the King to serve as instructions to the Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, captain in the navy, governor and lieutenant-general of New France.[96]

VERSAILLES, March 22, 1755.

New France, the government whereof His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon the Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, comprises Canada, l'Isle Royale, and Louisiana with their dependencies.

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In addition to those forts, there is one in each of the posts of the upper country, which are commanded by officers chosen by the governor-general. As a rule, the choice of such commandants will demand special attention on the part of the Sieur de Vaudreuil, because, apart from ordinary talents, they must possess sufficient knowledge to make them fit to govern the various nations at such posts, and those which are in the habit of frequenting them; but as the commandants destined for forts St. Frederic, Frontenac, and Niagara must also be capable of conducting the defence of those forts should occasion arise, the Sieur de Vaudreuil must bear in mind that he cannot take too many precautions to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the officers who may deserve the preference for such commands, so as to make a proper choice when commandants are to be appointed.

His Majesty is pleased to add a general remark here regarding the posts, and that is that such establishments must not be

[96] Pierre de Rigaud, marquis of Cavagnal and Vaudreuil, left Louisiana, where he was governor, May 8, 1753, soon after the arrival of his successor, Louis Billouart, Sieur de Kerlérec. During the remainder of 1753 and 1754 Vaudreuil was in Paris, where (Jan. 1, 1755) he received his commission as governor of Canada. This was registered in Quebec July 10, after his arrival (June 23) at the colonial capital. For biographical sketch, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 31.—ED.

undertaken without much reflection and for well-ascertained motives of sufficient necessity or utility. His Majesty is aware that they who propose them are never in want of specious and plausible reasons in favor of their establishment being adopted; they always allege the good of trade or the necessity of restraining some savage nation, but it has only too often been proved that they were actuated by private interest. Such posts, moreover, are very expensive for His Majesty, and that is one of the chief causes of the immense increase in the colony's expenses for some years. Thus His Majesty desires that, not only shall the Sieur de Vaudreuil not agree to the establishment of any new post until he has thoroughly ascertained its advantages, but moreover that he shall find out whether, among the number established some time ago, and even before the last war, there be not some that can be dispensed with, and in such case, he shall at once suppress them. And, to enable His Majesty to judge for himself of the usefulness of all the posts he may retain, he wishes him to send him a statement setting forth the time when they were established, the reasons therefor, the advantages derived from them, and the manner in which they are exploited.

Of all the branches of the administration confided to the Sieur de Vaudreuil, that which demands his most constant attention is the government of the savages. He is informed that Canada is inhabited by numerous nations, all the more difficult to restrain that their most ordinary trait of character is frivolity and fickleness. The experience acquired by the Sieur de Vaudreuil on this important point, and the reputation he has long had among all those nations, lead His Majesty to hope he will make use of those advantages with all the success His Majesty can desire on the most important occasions; but, whatever confidence he may have in him, he cannot dispense with entering into some special explanations regarding the principles which must guide him in this respect.

His Majesty wishes him to devote all the attention in his power to avoiding war with the savages as much as possible.

In Canada there are people greatly opposed to this principle, but it is none the less true that wars of that sort serve most frequently only to occasion much expense and to disturb the peace of the Colony without producing any real benefit. And it is equally certain that most of them have been caused solely by private interests. Thus the Sieur de Vaudreuil cannot be too much on his guard against all the suggestions that may be made to him in that respect.

It is not, however, advisable to endure certain insults from the savages, and His Majesty is far from wishing this to be done; on the contrary, he wishes and it is in fact necessary that firmness be used in certain cases to restrain them. The evil is—and His Majesty has had more than one occasion of observing it—that it is a rather common thing in Canada to make a great commotion, and even to start wars in connection with private incidents of trade of but little interest to the nation, while insults are endured that make us despised, and the toleration of which brings on the greatest disturbances.

The Sieur de Vaudreuil will have to strive to effect another change in the system of governing the savages in Canada. With the view of keeping them occupied and of weakening them, it has been deemed advisable to take every opportunity to foment and encourage wars between them. Such a policy, which is quite opposed to the feelings of justice and humanity that animate His Majesty, might have been advantageous and perhaps even necessary when the colony was first established. But, in view of the extent to which those nations are to-day reduced, and of their dispositions in general, it is better in every way that the French should play the part of protectors and peace-makers among them; they will have more attachment and consideration for the French, the colony will be more tranquil, and His Majesty will be spared considerable expense, besides the fact that Frenchmen are always killed on those occasions. Cases may, nevertheless, arise where it is expedient to bring about war against nations badly disposed toward the French, and who might openly declare themselves against

them. But even in such cases there are two things to be observed; one is, to first endeavor to win over those same nations by reconciling them with the faithful ones; and the other is to make sure, as far as possible, that the latter will not suffer too much from such wars.

There is still another principle that has long been adopted in Canada, and His Majesty observes that it is followed on all occasions: it is to take the savage nations from the places they have chosen as their retreat, and to bring them near the French posts. The spirit of trade has contributed more than anything else to inspire such manner of thinking and of acting. As a rule it is making a very bad use of His Majesty's money, of the authority or credit of the commandants, to employ them for migrations of that kind. The allied savages must be considered as being in their proper place everywhere, provided it be neither on English territory nor in the vicinity of any nation openly hostile to the French, and without paying too much heed to the traders' profits, nor to the prejudices of many people in that respect. The Sieur de Vaudreuil must leave certain nations at liberty to wander over the lands of the colony, provided they receive no strangers; for the latter point is the most essential.

His Majesty has also had occasion to remark, in the various reports sent him on what occurs in connection with the savages, that for some years they have amused themselves by accepting collars and flags from the English, and afterward taking them to the French to get presents from the latter. All this is very costly for His Majesty and is, moreover, unbecoming. It is not right to be duped by such deceitful conduct. The Sieur de Vaudreuil must put a stop to it and this will be all the more difficult to do that in only too many instances, such conduct is favored by the French themselves.

* * * * * * * *

Given at VERSAILLES, March 22nd, 1755.

1755: REGULATIONS FOR TRADE AT THE UPPER POSTS

[Ordinance, dated May 29, 1755, extended to July 6, annexed to a letter from Du Quesne, dated July 15, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 100, folio. 41."]

It having come to our knowledge that many voyageurs who obtain licenses multiply the number of canoes as much as they please without fear of inquiry regarding such abuse, as well as regarding brandy which they carry in excess of the quantity allowed, we have deemed it indispensable to remedy all such abuses, based on bad faith and independence, by means of the following articles:

Article 1.

When a canoe shall arrive at * * * the Sieur * * *, the commandant at such post, shall cause our permit to be shown him, and shall ascertain, with all the attention we deem him capable of with regard to the execution of our orders, whether the number of canoes is not in excess of that allowed by us, and, in the event of contravention, he shall seize and confiscate the whole cargo of the person who has committed the fraud, shall sell the same and send us the proceeds thereof to be distributed to the hospitals. He shall likewise send us, under good and safe custody, the person who had charge of the said cargo.

Article 2.

We order the Sieur * * * to make equally accurate inquiry regarding the quantity of brandy allowed and we order him, in the event of contravention, to inflict the same punishment under this article as under that regarding the number of canoes in excess.

Article 3.

Having been further informed that a number of voyageurs who go to the upper Country, establish their residence there, without our permission, either to trade by stealth between one

post and another, or again to lead a dissolute life with the savage women, and being desirous of remedying an abuse so prejudicial to the welfare of the colony in every respect; we Order the Sieur * * * to send back to us all who, within the extent of his post, are not acknowledged to be domiciled at * * * and who are reputed Coureurs de bois.

Article 4.

We further order the Sieur * * * not to send to trade in the posts outside his jurisdiction, and to arrest all who may come by stealth to trade within it; to send them to us under good and safe custody, confiscating the goods in their charge for the benefit of the hospitals. We do not allow him to remain ignorant of the fact that this regulation is a general one in order to confine each commandant to the limits of his post with regard to ordinary and legitimate trade.

Article 4—For Detroit.

We further Order the said Sieur * * * to cause to be confiscated and burned all prohibited goods brought to Detroit, and to send us under good and safe custody the persons in charge of canoes who may have contravened the prohibitions above set forth which we repeat in all their force and vigor.

Article 5.

We further Order that this our regulation be read and published in order that no one may plead ignorance thereof.

Done at MONTREAL the 29th of May, 1753.

The same regulation for St. Joseph and for Detroit with the addition of the prohibited trade.

Done at QUEBEC the 6th of July, 1755.

DUQUESNE.

1755: CONCESSION OF POST OF LA BAYE

[Letter from the French minister to Vaudreuil, dated July 15, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but série B, vol. 101, folio 17.]

COMPIEGNE, July 15, 1755.

You are informed, Monsieur, of the application made by Monsieur de Rigaud for the extension of the lease of the post of La Baye. On the report made by me on it to the King, and on the representations in support of it, His Majesty has ordered me to tell you that he approves of your extending the concession of that post for two years. But there can be no question of any further extension; and His Majesty desires that, after the expiration of such two years, the arrangements for the exploitation of the post of La Baye shall be the same as those made for the other trading posts of the colony, and he will await the suggestions you may have to make respecting such arrangements after you have inquired into everything that has occurred in connection with the matter.

1755: UPPER POSTS AND DETROIT

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Oct. 30, 1755. Source, same as preceding document, but "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 100, folio 132."]

MONTREAL, October 30, 1755.

MONSEIGNEUR—Although I have been very busy in making suitable arrangements to oppose the progress of the English, I have nevertheless devoted my attention to everything regarding the nations of the Upper countries. I have carefully examined the reports sent by the commandants of every post, and have, moreover, obtained every possible information so as not to remain ignorant of anything.

It is certain, Monseigneur, that the Upper countries generally have been greatly neglected in every respect. Most of the

savage nations are at war with one another. I have also discovered that several of those nations had received collars and messages from the English. I have given suitable orders to restore good order and police at every post. I have likewise taken steps in connection with everything that might secure us the loyalty of the Nations without causing the King any expense. I have been informed that they await my arrival with impatience. The Outaouas, folle avoine, Sakis, and Renards chiefs have told me how pleased they were to see me. They have informed me that the pleasure of the remotest nations would be equal to their own. They wanted to undertake to go and tell them that they had seen me to convince them that the English had wrongly boasted that they would capture me on the sea, and that I should never come to this Colony. I flatter myself that, next spring, I shall see the chiefs of all the nations, and that I shall succeed in rendering their attachment to the French inviolable.

I have no doubt, Monseigneur, that you are aware of the excellence of the Lands at Detroit. That post is a considerable one, and is well populated, but three times as many families could easily be settled there as are now on the spot. Unfortunately we have not enough people in the Colony. I will make arrangements to promote the establishment of two sisters of the Congregation at that post to educate the Children without its costing the King one sol.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

[Extract from a letter from Detroit, dated Oct. 18, 1755. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 401.]

By a letter from Detroit dated the 18th [October], all the Indians of that quarter appear inclined to attack the English. The Miamis and Poutouamis are equally so disposed. The latter have had parties out constantly, and have killed or captured, up to the date of this letter, 120 English.

1749-55: SERVICES OF THE YOUNGER MARIN

[Translated from document in Margry, *Découverts et Établissements*, vi, pp. 653-655.]

Extract from the Memoir of Monsieur Marin fils, captain and chevalier of the military order of St. Louis.[97]

I was detailed in 1749 by Monsieur de La Galissonière in order to go and command at la Pointe de Chegouamigon, an Indian post 500 leagues from Montreal, in order to have peace made, and secure tranquility among the nations, who were at war among themselves, and who even made war upon the French. I rendered these regions open to commerce in two years time.

In 1751, I went to perform service at Québec.

In 1752, I was detailed by Monsieur le marquis de La Jonquière, governor general of Canada, to go and relieve my father, who was commandant at that time on the upper part of the Mississippi. I had an order from this general to make discoveries among the nations, who were as yet unknown. This I did during two years, covering on foot more than two thousand leagues sometimes in snow, sometimes amid ice, running a thousand dangers among barbarous nations and wearied by fatigues of every sort. I conquered, in these two years, more than twenty nations, that I made submissive to France, and these have since waged war for us. I had peace made between the Renards, Sakis, Puans, Sioux of the Lakes, Sioux of the Prairies, and Folles Avoines and the Illinois. This peace was of the greatest consequence, for if these nations had not been reconciled, the French of the colony established at the Cahau [Cahokia] at the forts of Chartres and the Cas [Kaskaskia] would have been obliged to abandon their settlements.

In 1754 I went to perform my service at Québec.

In 1755, I was detailed by Monsieur Duquesne, then governor general of Canada to return to the upper Missisippi in order to restrain the nations who occupy these regions.

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[97] Additional details of the career of Joseph la Malgue, Sieur Marin are found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 315; and *Canada Roy. Soc Proc.*, 2nd series, x, pp. 25-35.—Ed.

1756: AFFAIRS IN THE OHIO VALLEY

[Extracts from documents in *N. Y. Colon., Docs.*, x, pp. 406, 407 424, 437, 479.]

NEW ORLEANS, June 1, 1756.

MY LORD—By the last letters of the 16th of March, which I have received from M. de Mackarty, Commandant at the Illinois,[98] he informs me that he has not received any order from M. de Vaudreuil, and appears ignorant of the different events passing in Canada. He adds, that Captain de Chation, commanding at St. Joseph, a dependency of Canada,[99] writes that he received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, recommending him to labor in keeping the Nations quiet in existing circumstances, and that he will soon send him packets for M. de Mackarty, which he will be hardly able to receive before this month. Therefore, My Lord, I cannot give you any news of what is passing in the North and on the Beautiful river. As regards the domiciliated Indian Nations, and others in the neighborhood of Illinois, they appear pretty quiet.

M. de Mackarty in accordance with the letter of M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne,[1] copy whereof I annex here-

[98] Major Macarty (Makarty) Mactigue was born in 1706, the son of a captain in the French service. In 1713 he entered the army, and by 1731 was made captain in Louisiana. In 1735 he was promoted to be major of engineers, came to the Illinois as commandant in 1752, and remained until the capitulation of Montreal (1760). During his administration Fort Chartres was rebuilt in stone, Fort Duquesne was provisioned and supplied with detachments of troops, and Fort Massiac (or Massac) was built (1757). Summoned to New Orleans in June, 1760, Macarty was on duty in that city until his death (April 20, 1764).—ED.

[99] Probably this captain was Roch St. Ours, Sieur Deschaillons, son of the officer noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 35. The younger Deschaillons was second ensign in 1733; ensign in full, 1741; lieutenant in 1744, and captain in 1748. In 1759 he received the cross of St. Louis, and seems to have retired to Paris, where his widow died in 1777. His son, however, remained in Canada, and became prominent in the English administration.—ED.

[1] Sieur Dumas had served in the French army, and coming to Canada some time before 1750, was in that year appointed captain of a new

unto, complied as far as he was able with the requisition for flour and salted provisions, but not to near the quantity that was desired. As soon as I shall be better informed, my Lord, of what will take place both at the Illinois and the Beautiful river, I shall not fail to send you an account thereof.

The only information I have from the different Indians of that quarter is, that those of the North are incessantly, and most successfully ravaging and laying waste all the settlements belonging to the Provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Potomac. Several have even quite recently been discovered with all their baggage within 5 days' journey of the Kaouitas,[2] going in quest of an asylum between St. Augustine and New Georgia. This is what I have learned pending my voyage to Mobille.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and Most obedient servant,

KERLEREC.[3]

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company in the colonial troops. His first services that are noted were in connection with Braddock's defeat, for which he received the cross of St. Louis. Upon the retirement of Contrecœur, Dumas was made commandant of Fort Duquesne, and maintained there a vigorous offensive campaign until called in 1757 to become major of Quebec. In that capacity he aided Montcalm's Lake Champlain campaign of 1757. In 1759 he was made inspector-general of troops, and during the siege of Quebec commanded the right wing. In 1760 he took part in the defense of Montreal, but upon its capitulation retired to France. There his services were recognized by transfer to the infantry with the grade of colonel, and a considerable pension. In 1765 he was in Paris, two years later being made commandant of Isle de France. After two years' service he was recalled, but continued to enjoy favor and a pension. He was living in 1774.—ED.

[2] Kaouitas was the French name for the great tribe of Creek Indians, whose habitat was in the present eastern Alabama, western Georgia, and northwestern Florida.—ED.

[3] Louis Billouart, Sieur de Kerlérec, was born in Quimper, France, in June, 1704. Entering the navy at the age of fourteen, he had before reaching the age of twenty been on several cruises to America. In 1730 he was sent to Louisiana to aid against the Natchez, and the following year received his ensigncy. Continuing in the navy he was

Copy of the letter written to M. de Makarty, Commandant at the Illinois, on the 10th of 9ber 1755, by M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Du Quesne.

SIR—The critical condition of Canada last summer; attacked on all sides by numerous armies, whose movements M. Du Quesne, at the time our general, was unwilling to foresee; with posts defenceless and without supplies; Lake Ontario closed by Chaouaguin during the entire of the fine season; all this, Sir, has placed this post in the most sad want of provisions.

The enemy having cut off our communication, as I have the honor to inform you, Sir, it is a long time since I have received any news from M. de Vaudreuil; I have reason to believe he is busy clearing the roads, but the greatest success cannot at present provide so many indispensable necessaries; therefore I have to look elsewhere.

In so delicate a conjuncture, I take upon myself, Sir, to send to you for provisions, and if they can reach us in season, they will afford us the opportunity of being provided with the other necessaries by facilitating the carriage of whatever comes to us from below.

Wherefore, I send you Sieur Ducharme, a skilful voyageur who formerly came up the Beautiful river as far as the Falls,[4]

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wounded in an action against the Spaniards (1740), and the next year was promoted to a lieutenancy. In 1746 he received the cross of St. Louis, and the following year participated in a naval battle wherein he was taken prisoner, being carried to England. In 1750 he was exchanged, and returning to France was rewarded for his services with the governorship of Louisiana (1752). Arrived in New Orleans in the spring of 1753, he took over the governorship at a troubled time, and for eleven years defended the province, almost without troops or resources. His disagreements with the ordinator of the colony led to disgrace upon his return to France. He was finally (1769) banished from Paris, and retired to Rouen where he died Sept. 8, 1770.—ED.

[4]In all probability this was Jean Marie Ducharme, who was born at Lachine in 1723, and there married (1761) Marie Roy. Coming early to Mackinac, he traded thence throughout the Illinois country and Wisconsin. In 1773 he was arrested by the Spaniards on the Missouri River, and for some time kept a prisoner at St. Louis. At the out-

and who expects to be able to ascend it again as far as this place, with carts loaded with 10 thousand weight under a guard of six men.

I have had the honor to advise M. de Vaudreuil of all this, and I flatter myself that you will give all your support to an undertaking on the success of which depends perhaps the fate of our settlement.

I furnish M. Ducharme with 18 men; he proposes to engage some at the Illinois, but I foresee that it will be difficult for him to find people sufficient to convey 120 thousand weight of flour and 40 thousand weight of pork. It is on you, Sir, that I rest the confidence with which I enter on this project.

You, Sir, can easily furnish Sieur Ducharme with a detachment under the command of an officer. It will march as an escort, and the soldiers will be paid as laborers by the contractor for working in the convoy.

I have heard of one Delisle undertaking formerly to convey provisions to the Ouyatonons. I suppose, Sir, you have orders to protect him. I demand the same assistance for Sieur Ducharme, and that you will add thereto whatever will be in your power.

In laboring for the good of the service your reward and mine are assured, since we have performed our duty.

I have the honor to be, etc., DUMAS.

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break of the American Revolution, he sympathized somewhat with the Americans and was suspected by the British of furnishing provisions to the rebels; see statement of his son, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 233, 234. In 1778 he was licensed as trader from Mackinac, and in 1780 led a party of Indians to the attack against St. Louis. He was accused in this instance of sympathy with the Americans, and with causing the expedition to miscarry. He appears to have kept his residence in Lachine, during these years of trade and hostility in the upper country, and there he died in June, 1807 (Draper MSS., 23J). He had a brother Dominique, and a cousin Laurent, both of whom were traders and voyageurs; the latter was in Mackinac during the outbreak of 1763, and afterwards had a post at Milwaukee.

Jean Marie's three sons, Joseph, Dominique, and Paul all became early residents of Wisconsin.—ED.

[1756. Fort Duquesne] We have now on the Continent [in this region] one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chouanons, besides a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the care of Sieur de Villiers, about 250 Miamis and Outagnons, under M. de Belestre, 300 from Detroit and 700 from Michilimakinac, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, d'Anglade and Hebert, Junior, amounting in all to 3,250 men. [We are] expecting to hear whether M. Beaubassin, Commandant at the Point, will have brought the Sauteurs belonging to his post;[5] we shall soon learn the exploits of these Nations.

[Aug. 8, 1856.] M. Dumas has likewise caused peace to be concluded between the Illinois, the Nations of the Bay, the Saulteux and Pouteouamis.

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Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, through fear of the smallpox that prevailed at Niagara and subsequently at Presqu'Isle, which they have been equally apprehensive of catching at Fort Duquesne, M. Dumas' force consists nevertheless, of 810 men.

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[5] "Hebert Junior" is probably a misprint for "Herbin Junior," for whom see *ante*, p. 137, note 81.

Pierre Joseph Hertel, Sieur de Beaubassin, belonged to a prominent Canadian family who had estates in Acadia. Born in 1715, he became ensign (1748). Having been very successful during King George's War in raiding in the neighborhood of Albany, he was sent by the governor of New France to arrange with the governor of New York for an exchange of prisoners. The latter remonstrated with La Jonquière for sending one known to have "committed cruel barbarities in the last war." His negotiations were, however, successful and he received a gratuity for his "zeal and industry," besides promotion in the army. In 1751 he married Catherine Jarret de Verchères, who became an especial friend of the Marquis de Montcalm. In 1756 he was made lieutenant, being stationed at La Pointe de Chequamegon, Wisconsin. In 1759, he came to Quebec, apparently from the eastward, bringing with him a detachment of Abenaki Indians. His services were in demand during the siege, and he likewise took part in the campaign of 1760, at its close retiring to France.—Ed.

[Aug. 30, 1756] The Indians of the Upper Countries appear glad that Chouaguen has fallen, but, at the bottom of their hearts, they are not satisfied.[6] It was a place where they found as much Rum as they pleased, goods much cheaper than with us, and I am persuaded that the high prices of our merchandise will drive them to Orange to trade their peltries, which is a serious injury to the trade of this Colony. It would be an advantage necessary for one reason, were the Indians supplied with our goods at the same price as they are supplied by the English.

1756: GRANT OF LA BAYE POST

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated 1756. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 101, folio 9."]

MONSEIGNEUR—I cannot but be imbued with the liveliest gratitude for your kindness in being pleased to explain to me, by the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 12th of April, the reasons that have prevented the King from approving the suggestion I had the honor to make you, to appoint my brother governor of Montreal.

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As my brother cannot aspire to the position of governor of Montreal and must lose the right, which his seniority as governor would give him, in the meantime, to the rank of command-

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[6] On the other hand, note the following testimony on the effect in the upper country of the fall of Oswego (Chouaguen). The journal of Montcalm in Casgrain, *Lévis Manuscripts* (Quebec, 1895), vii, p. 121, notes under date of Nov. 21, 1756; "Monsieur Dumuys [commandant of Detroit] ensign of the colony, arrived the 21, and confirms the great effect that the taking of Chouaguen has had on the disposition of the savages of the Upper Country. It has animated the courage of those belonging to us, and lowered that of those, who were like the Huron of Detroit in the depth of their hearts on the side of the English."—ED.

er-in-chief, I have not hesitated to tell him that he must not count upon it; and I think, subject to the King's good pleasure, that His Majesty will consider it opportune that I should ask that he be honorably retired on account of his services, of those of my brothers and of my father,[7] with a pension that will enable him to live suitably.

Such an arrangement, Monseigneur, seems to me indispensable owing to the impression which my brother's fate (after distinguishing himself in the expeditions most important to the Colony) would produce on the Canadians and savages, and to the unpleasantness that would be caused to my brothers and to myself in particular. I flatter myself that I possess the hearts and the confidence of the colonists, and their sensitiveness through my brother being overlooked might perhaps diminish the zeal and satisfaction wherewith they execute my orders. I might even add, without prejudice, that the retirement of my brother would be a loss to the colony. He is generally liked by the Canadian troops and the Savages. They have given him the most striking proofs of this, and it is certain that his services would have been very useful during this war.

As my brother's affairs are exceedingly embarrassed and the illness of his wife in France causes him heavy expense, I have the honor, Monseigneur, to ask you to be pleased to procure him a continuation of the exploitation of the post of La Baye and its dependencies for three years, because he lost through a Fire at that post last winter about 30,000 livres worth of goods which he owes his purveyors, and, moreover, the price of the goods has

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[7] His father, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was governor of Canada (1703–25). The eldest brother, Louis Philippe, known as Count de Vaudreuil, was a distinguished naval officer, attaining the rank of lieutenant-general in the navy and dying (1763) in France. Pierre Antoine, the second brother, known as Baron de Vaudreuil, was colonel in the army, being killed at the siege of Prague in 1742. Jean, called Vicomte de Vaudreuil, was also in the army and attained the rank of lieutenant-general. The youngest of the brothers, Joseph Hyacinthe de Vaudreuil, was captain of infantry, and commandant at San Domingo (1753-59).—Ed.

more than doubled while that of furs has decreased in the same proportion. Consequently he cannot exploit that post except at a loss so long as the war lasts.

I venture to hope, Monseigneur, that you will be pleased to grant me these two favors for my brother. He has done very good service and has been wounded. He greatly contributed to the reduction of the forts of Chouaguin, and I may truthfully say that, without him, the officers of the colony, the Canadians and the savages, they would still be in the enemy's possession.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Sept. 21, 1756. Source, same as preceding document, but folio 102.]

MONTREAL, September 21, 1756.

MONSEIGNEUR—I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 15th of July of last year. I highly appreciate, Monseigneur, the kindness you have been pleased to manifest by procuring my brother, de Rigaud, the continuation of the enjoyment of the post of La Baye for two years. I beg you, Monseigneur, to rest assured that my gratitude equals his. You will see, by the letter I had the honor to write you regarding him, the reasons that induce me to ask you for the continuation of that post for three more years. That which impelled me the most to ask that favor of you is the zeal which I know he has for the King's service and whereof he has just given proofs in the expedition against the Chouéguen forts in which he distinguished himself.[8] I flatter myself, Monseigneur, that

[8] Rigaud was second in command of the expedition that captured Oswego (Chouéguen), Aug. 14, 1756. He had charge of the Canadian troops and Indian auxiliaries, and went in advance of Montcalm, established himself at what is now Sackett's Harbor, and reconnoitred the surrounding country. Proceeding with the army to Oswego, he was sent to cross the river with his forces—a movement successfully executed, which alarmed the garrison of Old Fort Oswego into im-

this reason, added to the kindness with which you honor us, will lead you to grant him this.

With regard to the other posts of the upper country, I have merely been able to conform to the arrangements made by Monsieur the Marquis Duquesne. Most of them are farmed out, and I can change nothing until the leases expire.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

1757: MEMOIR OF BOUGAINVILLE

[Translated from Pierre Margry, *Relations et Memoires Inédits* (Paris, 1867), pp. 39–84.][9]

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Detroit.—Detroit is a post worthy of attention, it is the entrepôt of the southern forts which communicate with the Illinois. The lands there are rich and easy to cultivate, the sky beautiful and serene, the climate magnificent, almost no

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mediate capitulation. Vaudreuil, somewhat jealous of the fame of Montcalm for this success, was inclined to magnify the share of his brother in the exploit.—ED.

[9] Louis Antoine Bougainville (1729-1811) was the son of a Paris notary. Educated for the bar, he began his career as a lawyer of the Parliament of Paris. He was likewise a man of letters and science, and in 1752 published a treatise on integral calculus that won the attention of the scholarly world. About the same time he decided to undertake a military career, and after visiting London (1754) as military attaché of the legation, where he was made a member of the Royal Society, he served (1755) as aide-de-camp to the Duc de Mirepois. The following year he was sent to Canada as Montcalm's first aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain. From the first, he won his chief's regard and warm commendation. He accompanied him on the Oswego campaign (1756), and that of Lake George (1757), whence he was dispatched to Montreal with the news of victory. In the following year he was slightly wounded at Ticonderoga; but neverthe-

winter, very little snow, the beasts winter in the fields and feed there. There are already about two hundred habitants, who have abundant provisions and cattle, and who furnish flour to the different posts of the upper countries. The fort is on the border of the river that separates Lake Erie from Lake Huron where there is only a gentle slope that forms a slight current. At twenty leagues from Lake Huron and six from Lake Erie, the river of detroit is twelve to fifteen arpents wide, all the waters of the upper lakes, Michigan and of Lake Huron pass there, and go to discharge themselves into Lake Erie.

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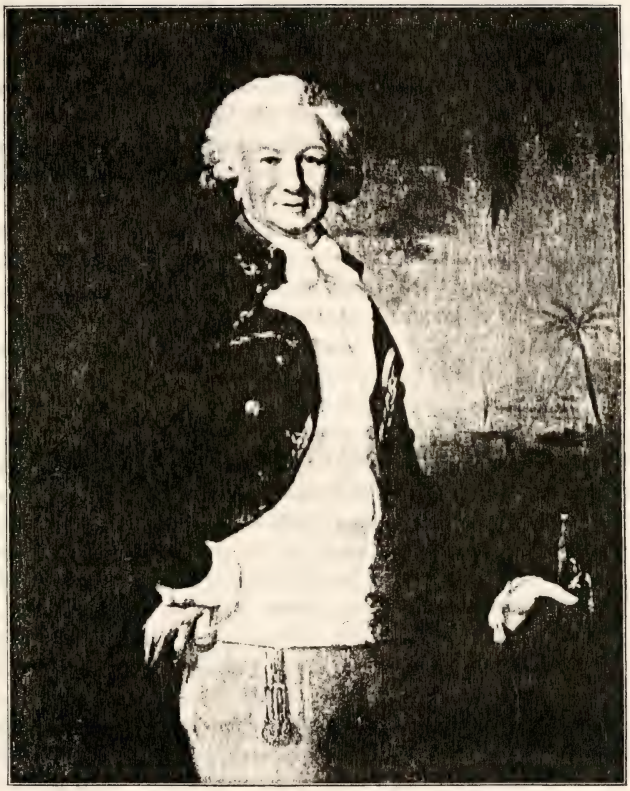
less was chosen to go to France to solicit aid for New France, then in its extremities. The court granted him promotion to the rank of colonel, and the cross of St. Louis, but would send no substantial assistance to Montcalm. Bougainville returned to Quebec in April, 1759, bringing news of the approach of the English fleet. He was one of the most efficient defenders of Quebec, also was valiant in the 1760 campaign against Amherst, finally being the agent to arrange the terms of capitulation. Returning to France in 1761, the next year finds him winning laurels on the Rhine, under Choiseul Stainville. In 1763 he exchanged his military title for that of captain in the navy, and made a settlement on the Isles Malouines (Falkland), in South America. In 1766 he was sent to transfer these islands to Spain, and with two ships of war made a voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, that ended in 1769. During the American Revolution he aided the patriots, and for his action in the fleet of De Grasse, in Chesapeake Bay (1781), he received the thanks of Washington and Rochambeau. In 1790, after attaining the rank of vice-admiral, he retired from the navy. Arrested during the Reign of Terror, he lived to become member of the Institute (1796), senator, and count of the empire. The Americans also elected him to the order of Cincinnati, and to the Academy of Science. He died in September, 1811.

Bougainville's observations on Canadian conditions were acute, and marked by much practical judgment. This memoir, from which we publish those extracts relating to the upper posts, was written for Mme. Hérault de Séchelles, the patroness of his family, to whom it was sent June 30, 1757. Although Bougainville had no opportunity of himself visiting the upper country, he nevertheless obtained his information at first hand from Canadian officers who knew the region well.—Ed.



LOUIS-ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE

From portrait in possession of the Count R. Kerallain, Quimper, France. Reproduced by us from photogravure in Doughty and Parmalee, *Siege of Quebec*, i, p. 178

It is then a question of encouraging this establishment, which is an important place because of all the nations around, and of the routes of communication with the Illinois. In order to accomplish this, the government should be arranged with a staff officer, five or six companies complete with officers and soldiers, and give to each captain, and even to the subalterns a seigniory of ninety arpents depth by a league in front, and oblige each soldier to take land on the seigniory of his captain or officer, who will give each a domain or fief, and then in order to establish and cultivate the lands more quickly, they should be divided into companies of a dozen soldiers with a sergeant to guide them, and make them work together a week on each plot of an arpent and a half by thirty in depth, so that they are near together. By this means the lazy will be obliged to employ themselves as the others, since they work in common, and this was formerly the method of the famous Republic of Sparta. The officers would be interested to follow closely their soldiers that they might not lose time, and even would have built for them small houses, and when each soldier married would give him a cow and a sheep, a pair of oxen with a plow and other necessary utensils for work, and cooking utensils. The oxen would be only lent to them, they would return them to the king when they had reared others, and the former were only fit for the butcher. For this purpose the companies must be permanent; for if they changed, the soldiers would not be attached to anything. Those who marry must be replaced, so that the companies may be full, and then, as much as possible in choosing among the other companies, with those willing to serve.

It should be remarked that the habitants of detroit can rear as many animals as they wish, because of the abundance of the pasturage, and the beauty of the climate. Thus in giving attention to the establishment of Detroit there would arise great advantages. This government would soon be in a condition to furnish the posts of Niagara, Frontenac, la Presentation, and others in the region of the Belle River with flour

and meat, which would relieve the capital greatly, as well in the matter of provisions as of men who are occupied in transporting stores from Montreal to Fort Frontenac—a passage of seventy leagues with fearful rapids to mount,[10] which wears out the best men diverting them from agriculture to the transportation of stores for the different posts of the south. Detroit being established, nothing would be easier than to bring all the succor necessary in provision and beasts to furnish the posts mentioned, and this by means of flat-bottom transports, or barks which would carry from sixty to seventy tons, and which crossing Lake Erie would bring the government produce to Point à Binot.[11] There a small fort could be built for an entrepôt both for stores coming from Montreal for the southern posts, as well as for those coming from Detroit for the posts that the government provisions, and for the goods of commerce; this would greatly diminish the number of engagés used as voyageurs. And the transports going and coming to Point à Binot would be laden with different goods. One might go and return by bateau from the little fort at Niagara[12] to Point à Binot, a distance of nine leagues. And the transports not

[10] Bougainville had had personal experience of this route from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, having accompanied Montcalm on the way to capture Oswego. For a good description with a detail of the rapids, etc., see François Pouchot, *War in America, 1755-60* (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), ii, pp. 91-113.—Ed.

[11] Now known as Point Abino, on the north shore of Lake Erie, in Welland County, Ontario. The name is spelled on old maps in various ways; see Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, vii, p. 367, for an early survey and the varying orthography.—Ed.

[12] Joncaire had long had a house and trading settlement at the upper end of the Niagara portage. In 1750 this was erected into a fort variously called Little Fort Niagara, Fort at the Portage, etc. Joncaire maintained his command at this place until July, 1759, when upon the approach of the English army led by Sir William Johnson, under orders from Pouchot commanding Fort Niagara, he burned the buildings and retreated across the river to Chippewa Creek. The English later built a fort at this site, known as Fort Schlosser from its first commandant. It was maintained until the nineteenth century.—Ed.

being able to go to the former would go to fort presqu'île, which is the entrepôt for the stores sent to the different posts on Belle River.

The voyageurs would only have to carry their merchandise up to fort Frontenac, where they would embark on vessels which traverse Lake Ontario, going and coming to Niagara—a passage of seventy leagues, and at the latter place the portage of this merchandise and other goods, might be made by horses; and a regulation might be made of how much the voyageurs should pay for goods and merchandise from fort Frontenac, which would be much lower than the expense of bark canoes and engagés as I will demonstrate.

A large canoe costs	500 fr.
Six engagés at 250 fr. . . .	1500 f.
One hundred livres of biscuit per man at 20 fr. .	120 f.
Twenty-five livres of lard per man at 60 c. .	90 f.
For tools for the canoe . . .	20 f.
Total	2260 fr.

It should be noted that a bark canoe carries about four thousand weight. Thus, all the goods that the voyageurs carry up to the Upper Country for trade cost more than ten sols per livre for transportation. It is true that a part of their return comes down with the same men and canoe. Thus the king could charge twenty francs per hundred weight to carry merchandise from fort Frontenac to detroit, and twelve francs a package from detroit to fort Frontenac. The voyageurs who would follow their packages, could go down to Montreal on their own account; the king would lend them only canoes or bateaux.

These same transports could likewise by crossing Lake Huron communicate with Michilimakina, which is the entrepôt of the northern posts; and even go through Lake Michigan as far as La Baye a hundred leagues from Michilimakina, and even as far as Saint-Joseph.

Michilmakina.—Michilmakina is distant from Montreal travelling by the grand river three hundred leagues; from Detroit a hundred leagues and more. This post is situated between lake Michigan and lake Huron; when the navigators had acquired experience on these lakes, knowing the different shelters and anchorages and retreats in case of bad weather, one could use these vessels for transporting all the goods for the posts of the north. Detroit, having become a considerable place, would be in position to furnish merchandise to all these several places. By this means voyageurs would be freed from taking up bark canoes by the grand river, which is very troublesome on account of the great number of rapids and portages which the engagés make. Eighty bark canoes ordinarily go up each year, or about six to seven hundred men for that part of the country of which I speak; and by these means it would not be necessary. This would conserve the men in Canada, and augment the number of laborers which are the basis of the state.

Following this, individuals at Detroit will make boats proper for these transports, and commerce will be much facilitated in the Upper Country, for the barks of Lake Erie will go on Lakes Huron and Michigan, and a boat of forty tons will carry twenty canoe weights, and for this vessel it will take five or six men, in place of the hundred and twenty to a hundred and forty needed for the twenty canoes.

The governor general has paid ordinarily to the voyageurs five hundred francs for each canoe-crew, as much for the gratification to the officers as for the poor families; therefore, there must be paid five hundred francs for four thousand weight that the voyageurs convey to the Upper Country, and the one returns to the other.

In following exactly that which is stipulated in a few words, one will remedy one part of the abuses which are contrary to the advantage of Canada, and in a little while will see the lands cultivated, the habitants increasing in numbers, commerce flourishing, and the people becoming happier; it is that

which I wish, not being able to do more, and having spoken the truth.

Detroit the entrepôt for the southern posts.—Detroit the entrepôt for the southern posts, is a large town situated between Lake Erie and Lake Ste. Claire, from the entrance of Lake Erie to Detroit it is six leagues, from Detroit to Lake Ste. Claire, two; from the outlet of that lake which is seven leagues long to Lake Huron, they reckon eleven leagues.

The situation of that post is very beautiful, the climate charming, the air healthy, the land excellent and adapted to all kinds of productions; hunting is abundant. A man in fifteen days can secure three hundred head of game of different kinds, excellent to eat. The season for game lasts from February to May, and from September to Christmas.

On the north there are three leagues of land inhabited by the French, with three arpents to the habitant; to the south there are two leagues and a half thus occupied. The river as one leaves Lake Erie to go to Detroit runs northeast; it is a league and a half wide in front of the town, and has an island that serves as a common, fifty arpents long and twenty wide. It is called *Isle au Cochon* (Hog Island). A quarter of a league above the entrance of Lake Ste. Claire is an island named *Isle du Large* (Wide Island), twenty arpents long by seven or eight wide.

The habitants raise in ordinary years two thousand five hundred minots of wheat, much hay, and Indian corn, they sometimes sow grain in the autumn, but often it produces only rye. A habitant of the place assured me that he had sown a dozen minots of very fine wheat and had harvested only very fine rye. They sow in February and March and harvest in July, the wheat production is ordinarily twentyfold.

At a day's journey from there at a large point on Lake Huron there is a stone, which is wanting at Detroit, suitable for making mill-stones. It will be necessary to encourage agriculture among the Detroit habitants by assuring them of an outlet for their products, an easy matter, by having them

utilized by the garrisons of the forts of Presqu'isle Marchant [Machault], de la Rivière au Bœuf, and Duquesne. These provisions will cost the king less than those sent from Mont-réal, the cost of transportation of which is immense, and the difficulty of the passage renders uncertain the subsistence of the garrisons.

It will be necessary also that the merchants of Detroit or others who might wish to establish themselves there in that capacity should have the liberty to carry back to Detroit without paying a license, the returns of packages, letters of exchange, or certificates that they carry to Mont-réal; for if this privilege is not accorded the establishment of Detroit will languish.

At this post there is a commandant, a major, and under their orders * * * subaltern officers, the garrison of * * * men is furnished by detached companies of marine. The post is exploited by licenses whose price is usually five hundred francs payable in cash and whose number is not fixed. The charges supported by the licenses are for the commandant, three thousand francs; for the second in command, a thousand francs; for the subalterns, five hundred francs; for the subdelegate, six hundred francs; for the interpreter, five hundred francs; for the chaplain, five hundred francs; for the surgeon, three hundred francs; each canoe is obliged to carry four hundred livres weight of merchandise for the officers and other employees of the said post, in consequence the officers engage in trade, which is thus not free, and there are abuses to correct.

The savages who come ordinarily to trade at Detroit are Hurons of the same family as those of Lorette, a perfidious, knavish tribe against whom one must be incessantly on guard. The Outawas, the Saulteux, and the Pouteouatamies, these latter are of all the savages the most attached to our interests, never having dipped their hands in the blood of any Frenchmen, they have even given us notice of plots formed against us

by the other nations. There issues from this post between eight hundred and a thousand packages of peltry.

Post of the Miamis.—The post of the Miamis (Bellestre lieutenant) situated on the right bank of the river of that name with a fort of upright pickets, is the fort which stands at the beginning of the portage to the waters that flow to the southwest. This post is leased to the commandant for three years and the price of the lease is twelve hundred francs per year. He has the exclusive trade, the king gives neither certificates nor presents to the savages; the farmer is charged with these expenses as well as the wages of the interpreter; there is no gratification. The pay of the garrison is in powder and lead which the farmer takes to [from] Detroit; the savages who most commonly come to trade there are the Miamis and the Tepicomeaux.[13] They can furnish a hundred and fifty warriors. In an ordinary year there issues from this post two hundred and fifty to three hundred packages; this is, then, a post removed from [free] commerce.

Ouyatanons.—The Ouyatanons (Camet Bayeul, ensign)[14] is a post situated on the right bank of the river Ouabache or

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[13] Note by Margry—"Je ne connais pas ce nom" (I do not know this name). It is, however, the name of one clan of the Miami, usually written Tepicon; see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 246; also Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana* (Boston, 1888), p. 67, who derives the word Tippecanoe from this clan. Notice also the divisions of the Miami in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 152—Pepikokis (Tepikoki.)—Ed.

[14] Two officers of the Canadian army bore this title, both of them sons of Louis Audet, Sieur de Bailleul, who died in 1739 while lieutenant in the service. The one here mentioned was the younger, Pierre Audet, Sieur de Bailleul Canut, born in 1724 and married Jan. 17, 1757, to Charlotte, youngest daughter of Louis Denis de la Ronde, formerly commandant at Chequamegon. Bailleul the younger, while still a cadet was in command of parties of mission Indians who raided from Montreal in 1747. The following year he was at Crown Point on a similar errand. In 1750 he obtained his commission as second ensign, not becoming full ensign until seven years later. Meanwhile, either he or his brother was with Villiers at the capitulation of Fort Necessity (1754). In 1756 one of them accompanied Montcalm

Saint-Jérôme, a fort of upright pickets. This post is on the same footing as that of the Miamis, the commandant is its farmer, and the price of the lease is twelve hundred francs per year.

The savages who come to trade there are the *Ouyatanons*, the *Kikapous*, the *Maskoutins*, the *Peanguichias*,[15] they can furnish three hundred and sixty warriors.

There comes from this post and those dependent upon it, in ordinary years, four hundred to four hundred and fifty packages.

Vincennes.—The post of Vincennes is a pretty village dependent upon New-Orleans which sends there the commandant.[16] It has three horse mills, and about seventy-five habitants who till the soil and harvest grain.

The Peanguichias trade there. They must produce about eighty packages.

Post of the Illinois.—The Illinois, a post of which the principal entrepôt is Fort Chartres, is situated on the Mississippi; there are for all these posts six companies of garrison furnished as well as the commandant, by New-Orleans. This post is exploited by licenses whose price is six hundred francs per canoe, the voyageurs having three hundred francs weight in their canoes for the ordinary gratifications. And as they are not bound to convey provisions for the missionaries of the *Tam-*

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to Oswego, while the other was in command of a detachment of militia near Montreal. Bailleul the younger appears to have returned from his post at the Ouiatanon in 1759, and was employed in the transportation service, for which in 1767 he petitioned the government to reimburse him. Retiring to France after the English conquest, he was pensioned by the French government in 1774, his brother having seven years earlier been likewise pensioned for his wounds and services.—Ed.

[15] For these tribes see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, *passim*.—Ed.

[16] For the founding of this post see *Ibid.*, p. 29. The commandant at this time was Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, for whom see *ante*, p. 109, note 58.—Ed.

arous,[17] the surplus of what they bring is for Michilimakinac if they go by the north, or for Détroit if they pass by the south. The gratification for the commandant is paid by Louisiana from the state-treasury; the commandant is sent from New-Orleans.

These are the divisions of the Illinois: the Cahos on the borders of the Mississippi, at the left the Metchi, at six leagues the Kas, a little village inhabited by the French. The Cahos and the Metchi are no more than a village of about four hundred warriors. There are about four hundred warriors at the Kas. These three nations are comprised under the name of Illinois, and furnish in ordinary years a hundred packages in beaver, deer, cats, lynx, foxes, otters, stags and bucks.

There is another post on the river of the Illinois, where a commandant resides in a fort named *Pimiteoui;* the nations who trade there are the *Peorias;*[18] seven hundred men furnish two hundred and fifty packages, of the same quality of peltries, with less beaver and more cats than the preceding post.

Missouri.—In the Missouri at eighty leagues from its discharge into the Mississippi, are the *Osages* and the *Missouri,*

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[17] This is a branch of the Illinois tribe that settled near and merged with the Cahokia branch of that tribe. The earliest mission at Cahokia was founded by the Jesuits between 1698 and 1700. It was (about 1702) taken over by the priests of the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères, but again reverted to the Jesuits, who maintained their seat at this village until expelled from Louisiana (1763–64). See note on Pierre Gibault, *post.*—Ed.

[18] The time when this fort was established does not yet appear; certainly it must have been in the later years of the French regime. Its last commandant was Sieur Toulon, who by the orders of Neyon de Villiers evacuated it in 1763, and returned with his garrison to Fort Chartres. The fort was located on the west bank of Peoria Lake about a mile and a half above its outlet, on high ground with a beautiful view of the river and lake valley. Probably it was on what is now known as Prospect Heights, above the city of Peoria. The name Pimiteoui was the aboriginal name of the Peoria village located near the fort. There was also a considerable French settlement clustered about it.—Ed.

neighboring nations, the trade that we have with them may, in an ordinary year amount to eighty packages of deer and bear skins, few other peltries.[19]

Kansés.—In ascending this river [the Missouri] eighty leagues farther a village of the *Kansés* is found; we have there a garrison with a commandant furnished,[20] like those of *Pimiteouï* and fort Chartres, by New-Orleans. There comes from this post a hundred packages largely of beaver, but badly dressed, the other peltries are the same as those of the preceding post. Fifty leagues above are found the Otoks and the *Ayoués*;[21] two hundred men furnish eighty packages, of the same peltries as those of the Kanses.

Fort Duquesne.—The fort Duquesne is situated on the Belle River at the confluence of Malangueulé. This fort is a small one, built of wood, and badly placed, and dominated by two heights at a musket's range; in a word, it is untenable if it

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[19] A French post was established among the Missouri in 1722, but destroyed in 1725 by Indians, none of the garrison escaping. Its site, known as Fort Orleans, is somewhat in doubt. It was probably on the Missouri near the old mouth of Grand River, in Carroll County, just above Wakenda Creek. In 1804 Lewis and Clark could see no remains thereof.—Ed.

[20] This fort was located at the Kansa village on the present site of Fort Leavenworth. Its remains were plainly seen by the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, and that of Major Long in 1819. Cantonment Leavenworth was there established in 1827.—Ed.

[21] Two tribes of Siouan stock, known better as the Oto and Iowa. The former were an offshoot of the Missouri, and removed higher up the river of that name, residing for a time in the neighborhood of Omaha. Later they had a village on Platte River, where the remnant of the Missouri united with them. They resided on their reservation in southeastern Nebraska until after the middle of the nineteenth century, and were then removed to Indian Territory, where their reservation was abolished in 1904, lands being then allotted in severalty. The Iowa (Ayoués) were met by the French in the state to which they have given name. In 1808 the first American treaty was made with this tribe. They ceded their Iowa lands in 1836, and removed to Kansas, where a remnant of the tribe still dwell on allotted lands in Doniphan County.—Ed.

should be attacked in its present state.[22] It may contain a garrison of more than five hundred men, whom it is very difficult to provide for; the Illinois has been this year their resource.

The commandant has three thousand francs for a gratification. This establishment is necessary to hinder the English from occupying that territory, but there must be a more respectable fort and one that can in time of war contain a garrison of five or six hundred men; the country is good, the land fertile, and the air healthy, settlers would do well.

This post is exploited by licenses which are given gratuitously in order to encourage the merchants to send there; too much care can not be taken that the merchandise be low in price, in order that the savages finding it so, and making there a good trade may not go to the English, an object important for commerce, and still more so for politics.

The savages who come to Fort Duquesne are the Loups, the Chaouanons, and the Iroquois, renegades from all the tribes of the Five Nations.

There comes from this post, in an ordinary year, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty packages.

Fort of the River au Bœuf.[23]—The fort of the River au Boeuf is a square of upright pickets, situated thirty leagues from fort Machault, on a river whose name it bears. The river is quite navigable in spring-time, autumn, and often even in

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[22] The hasty evacuation of Fort Duquesne, the following year, on the approach of Gen. John Forbes with an English army, is proof of the justness of Bougainville's observation.—Ed.

[23] For the building of this fort, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. When the French abandoned this stockade after the fall of Niagara (1759), a detachment of Royal Americans, sent out from Fort Pitt, took possession; and at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy Ensign Price escaped after a brave but futile defense. The Indians burned the post, which was not reoccupied until the Americans garrisoned the site in 1794, during the Northwestern Indian war. A garrison was maintained here until after the War of 1812-15, when the present city of Waterford arose on the site.—Ed.

winter; in summer the water is very low, and provisions must be hauled to most of the posts.

This post is a necessary entrepôt for fort Duquesne, but it should be rebuilt and protected against a sudden attack. The commandant there has a thousand francs; the garrison is somewhat strong; it is not a commercial post, being but a new establishment.

Fort Machault.—Fort Machault[24] is situated at the discharge of the river au Boeuf into the Ohio. it is the last outpost for Fort Duquesne, it should be protected against a sudden attack. This is not a trading post. The commandant has a thousand francs gratification.

Fort of La Presqu'Isle.[25]—La Presqu'Isle, a square fort built of squared timber, is situated on Lake Erie, seven leagues

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[24] For the building of this fort also, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. In 1758, before the fall of Fort Duquesne, the garrison consisted of but a single officer and six men; see journal of Christian Frederick Post in *Early Western Travels*, i, p. 191. Upon the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, its garrison was removed to Fort Machault and preparations made during the winter of 1758-59 for a descent upon the English Fort Pitt. This was prevented by the advance of Prideaux and Johnson against Niagara, and the orders of Pouchot from the latter post to Des Ligneris to come to his aid. The English on taking possession built a new stockade forty rods nearer the mouth of French Creek, which they called Fort Venango. This was captured by the Indians in 1763; the commandant, Lieutenant Gordon was murdered, and the post burned. Fort Franklin was garrisoned on this site (1788-96), and the present town of Franklin laid out in 1795 around the post.—Ed.

[25] For establishment of this post, likewise, see *ante*, p. 148, note 93. In 1759 a large force gathered here from Illinois and Detroit to re-capture Fort Pitt; but the war party turned aside to the relief of Niagara and was there defeated, and Presqu'isle was abandoned by the French The next year, Col. Henry Bouquet from Fort Pitt took possession, and a garrison was maintained until, while under Lieutenant Christie's command, it was captured in 1763 by hostile Indians. No fort was rebuilt on this site until 1793, when Gen. Anthony Wayne reared a blockhouse thereon, where three years later he died. A garrison remained here until the War of 1812-15, when Erie (as it was then known) became an important naval station that was maintained until 1825.—Ed.

from the fort of river au Boeuf and from Niagara. It lies almost at the entrance of a large bay, about a league and a half deep by half a league wide. It has a commandant who has a thousand francs gratification, and there is a garrison of fifty or sixty men.

This post as far as trade is concerned is like the two preceding ones; Its utility is as a necessary outpost, and the first from Niagara to La Belle River. The portage from this fort to that of the river au Boeuf is seven leagues. During the winters which are mild, rainy, and not liable to have snow, the transportation is almost impracticable; spring and autumn are much the same; summer is the only season on which one can count for sending provisions and other necessaries to La Belle River. I speak of wagon transportation; pack-horses go at all times. There are many savages in this vicinity, and their aid is almost always necessary from the haste with which we are forced to make the portage, in order to profit by the waters of the river au Boeuf; indeed, if the roads were repaired it would be easy to dispense with the savages.

But policy demands that they be employed, especially in time of war. When they are employed in portaging they hinder the tribes that might be badly intentioned from troubling our transportation, moreover that which they earn in this manner, and the presents that are made them, place them in condition to dress themselves and provide necessities; without this resource they would turn to the English who deal with them much better than we do, and it is essential that they should not perceive this difference.

It would be easy to attract about this fort the savages, in order to establish them there and form villages;[26] the land there is good, hunting and fishing are abundant.

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[26] A considerable settlement both of French and Indians had sprung up about Fort Presqu'isle. One English captive reports about a hundred and fifty families at this place in the last years of the French regime. With the surrender of Niagara, however, these all retired by water to Detroit and the other settlements of the upper country.—Ed.

The Mississagués who are wandering about Lake Erie, could be settled there all the more easily that they would be assured of finding within the fort the resources that they lack when they are so far away from it.

The Iroquois who have a village at *Kanouagon*,[27] thirty leagues distant from La Presqu'Isle would also draw thither; often they are obliged to have recourse to us for provisions. But in order to succeed in forming an establishment at this place, there would be necessary:

1st. A warehouse at La Presqu'Isle well supplied with provisions and merchandise to trade according to the custom of the savages;

2nd. To abandon the portage. We pay six francs per sack to the savages for the portage, three francs to the French; but this disparity would disappear soon by the tariff of merchandise and provisions, and by the advantage of a commerce which would soon become considerable.

The chief of the Mississagués is named *Maccouainité* and that of the Iroquois *Cocité;* both are very fond of the French and have given proofs thereof.

Niagara.—Niagara may be regarded as a strong place at present; it is situated at the head of Lake Ontario to the south, at the confluence of the Niagara river. This post is the key of the upper country.

As the land there is excellent, the climate temperate, hunting and fishing abundant, we should try to establish a town there, or at least some habitations in a village. This establishment, and that of Détroit directed by good laws, would become the granary of the Upper Country. By this means the expense and the difficulties of transportation would be saved, and Canada would be in a condition to export more fully.

The king conducts the commerce at this post and consequently pays the gratifications of the commandants and other employees; but the commerce is ill-regulated there, trade is made in a fashion burdensome and but little profitable for the king.

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27 For this village see *ante*, p. 39, note 66.—Ed.

It would be well to make trade free, the competition between the merchants resorting there would render merchandise less dear. If the tariff is not lowered sooner or later the savages, who no longer have Chouéguen, will go to Orange and carry their peltry; and one must never lose sight of this reflection, that in this interest commerce is still less essential for the preservation of the colony depends upon it, for we sustain ourselves only by the favor of the savages; this is the counterpoise which makes the balance hang upon our side, and the savages will accept the hatchet from those with whom they carry on commerce most advantageously.

The nations that come to trade at Niagara are the Five Nations and the Mississagués.

There issue from this post in an ordinary year, two hundred and fifty to three hundred packages.

The portage from Niagara to [Petit Fort] is * * * leagues; the same reflections for this portage as for that of La Presqu'Isle, it is essential to employ the savages in this.

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Michilimakinac is a fort of standing pickets, situated on the strait of communication between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron; it is the entrepôt of the posts of the north; it is on the same footing as Detroit, entrepôt for the southern posts. It is exploited by licenses, which are six hundred francs per canoe; each canoe is obliged to carry five hundred weight for the officers, or the necessities of the garrison. This post has been reduced to a thousand francs yearly for presents to the savages, and no certificates. The commandant there has three thousand francs; the second in command, one thousand francs; and the interpreter, six hundred francs.

The savages who come to trade at this post are the Saulteux and the Outawais; there may come from there in an ordinary year, six to seven hundred packages.

Baye des Puants (Monsieur de Rigaud) is an established post. It is farmed for nine thousand francs; all expense on the part of the king has been suppressed; there are neither presents,

nor certificates, nor interpreters' wages; all the cost is at the expense of the lessee.

The commandant (Coutrol, lieutenant) is an officer interested in the lease and who runs it for his own profit and that of his associates.[28] He has two thousand francs of gratification. This post includes also the Sioux.[29]

The savages who come there for trade are the Folles-Avoines, *Sakis, Outagamis or Renards, Puants, Maskoutens, Kikapous, Sioux-des-Prairies, Sioux-des-Lacs.* There come from there, in an ordinary year, five to six hundred packages.

Saint Joseph River (Monsieur le Verrier)[30] is a fort situated on the right of the river of that name, at twenty leagues from its entrance into Lake Michigan. This post is on the same footing as that of La Baye. The commandant is its farmer entirely or in part, at the pleasure of the governor general; it is supported at the expense of the former, he has two thousand

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[28] Hubert Couterot, born in Paris, came to Canada sometime before 1750, when he was made ensign in the Canadian troops. In 1755 he was promoted to a lieutenancy after having married (1752) at Three Rivers, Marie Charlotte Taschereau. He apparently took command at La Baye in 1756, for on July 19 of that year he was in Mackinac, being registered as a godfather. Montcalm notes his arrival in the colony from La Baye Oct. 11, 1758. In 1759 Rigaud mentions a detachment under his charge proceeding from Three Rivers to Montreal, either on the way to the upper country or to reinforce Lévis at Crown Point. Couterot appears to have been the last French commandant at Green Bay. He remained in Canada after the conquest, settling probably at Batiscan.—Ed.

[29] The post among the Sioux appears to have been abandoned when the younger Marin, in 1756, retired thence.—Ed.

[30] Louis le Verrier was the son of the procurator-general of the colony, and stepson of Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor of New France. Born in 1705, Le Verrier entered the army while still young, being successively second ensign (1722), lieutenant (1739), and captain (1754). In 1756 he accompanied Lévis to Lake Champlain, and appears to have taken command of Fort St. Josephs (1757), where he remained until the spring of 1759 when he was promoted to the majority of Quebec. He returned to France with Vaudreuil, and does not appear to have again been in Canada—Ed.

francs gratification and the interpreter five hundred francs. The price of the lease is * * *

The savages who come there to trade are the Pouteéwatamis, about four hundred men, and a few Myamis. There may come from there four hundred packages of the skins of cats, bears, lynx, otter, deer, stags.

The Sea of the West is a post that includes the forts Saint-Pierre, Saint-Charles, Bourbon, de la Reine, Dauphin, Poskoia, and des Prairies, all forts of upright pickets, respectable only against savages.[31]

Fort Saint-Pierre is situated on the left bank of Lake *Tekamamiouen* or Rainy lake, at five hundred leagues from *Michilimakinak* and three hundred from *Kamanistigoyia* or Three-Rivers, at the northwest of Lake Superior.

Fort Saint-Charles is sixty leagues from that of Saint-Pierre, situated on a peninsula, that juts far into the Lake of the Woods.[32]

Fort Bourbon is one hundred and fifty leagues from the former, situated at the entrance of Lake Ouimpeg.[33]

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[31] Bougainville doubtless obtained his information concerning the Post of the Western Sea from Niverville and La Corne, Sieur de St. Luc. Both of these had been commandants, successors of the explorer La Vérendrye, and both of them were with Bougainville in the Lake Champlain campaign of 1757. La Corne de St. Luc was, as far as known, the last French commandant of this post, which he left in 1755.—Ed.

[32] Fort St. Pierre, named in honor of the famous explorer, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye, was built in 1731 just above the discharge of Rainy River into the lake of that name, two miles east of the present Fort Frances. Some remains are yet visible.

The site of Fort St. Charles, built in 1732, named probably for Gov. Charles de Beauharnois, has recently (1902) been identified. It was on the north bank of the Inlet of the Northwest Angle, just west of Famine (or Buckett) Island, in the Lake of the Woods. The remains of the party massacred on an island in the lake in 1736, that were transferred to Fort St. Charles, were here discovered.—Ed.

[33] Bougainville omits mention of Fort Maurepas, and has located Fort Bourbon upon the site of the former. For Fort Maurepas (Bas

Fort La Reine is on the right bank of the river of the *Assiniboels* seventy leagues from Fort Bourbon. These regions are everywhere vast prairies; this is the route to take for the upper Missouri.

Fort Dauphin eighty leagues from the former, is situated on the river *Minanghenachequeké* or Troubled Water.[34]

Fort Poskoia is on the river of that name at one hundred and eighty leagues from the preceding fort;[35] from this fort one may go in ten days to *Nelson* river. The fort des Prairies is eighty leagues from fort Poskoia at the source of the river of that name.[36]

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de la Rivière), built in 1734, see *ante*, p. 133, note 70. Fort Bourbon was built by the son of the explorer La Vérendrye in 1748, and at first was located at the mouth of Red Deer (La Biche) River, at the entrance of Lake Winnepegosis. Later (between 1748–55), there was built a second Fort Bourbon, whose ruins are yet visible on Cedar (or Bourbon) Lake, an enlargement of Saskatchewan River just above its entrance into Lake Winnipeg. For the location of these forts see L. A. Prud'homme, "Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye," and "Les Successeurs de la Vérendrye," in *Canada Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd series, xi, xii.—Ed.

[34] For Fort La Reine see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 427. Fort Dauphin was built in 1741 on the northeastern angle of Lake Dauphin.—Ed.

[35] This post was built in 1748 by the Chevalier de la Vérendrye at the forks of the Saskatchewan. Later, it was abandoned, and Fort La Corne built (about 1754) a few miles farther east. The remains of both forts were to be seen in 1814; see "Franchère's Narrative" in *Early Western Travels*, vi, p. 375. After the erection of Fort La Corne, a third fort was built on the present site of Fort Cumberland, to which, apparently, was transferred the name Fort Poskoia. It would appear that Bougainville has reference to this latter fort, since it is from here that the route to Nelson River and Hudson Bay branched from the Saskatchewan. If Bougainville secured his information from La Corne de St. Luc, he would know of the latest arrangements at the Post of the Western Sea.—Ed.

[36] Apparently this refers to the post usually spoken of as Fort Pasquia, begun by St. Luc on Carrot River, an affluent of the Saskatchewan. Sir Alexander Mackenzie found traces of this establishment when he passed through that country in 1785. If this identifi-

This post [Sea of the West] has been leased for eight thousand francs; the commandant is its farmer and he has a quarter interest in this post. The savages who come there to trade are the Cristinaux and the Assiniboels;[37] these two nations form each a dozen villages of two hundred and fifty men, each one supporting the other. In an ordinary year there are made up at this post three to four hundred packages of beaver, fisher-fox, marten, otter, lynx, wolverine, beech-marten, and foxes. One must count more than fifty to sixty Indian slaves or panis of *Jatihilinine*, a nation situated on the Missouri,[38] who play in America the role of the negroes in Europe. It is only at this post that the traffic in these slaves occurs.

The *post of the Sea of the West* merits special attention for two reasons: the first is that it is the nearest of all to the

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cation be correct, Bougainville omits mention of the post in the Rocky Mountains on the site of the modern Calgary, built (1751) by a party sent out by Niverville. This latter fort, called La Jonquière, was destroyed before Bougainville wrote. Traces of it were, however, to be seen in 1875, when a captain of the Canadian mounted police built a blockhouse on this site.—Ed.

[37] For these tribes see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189.—Ed.

[38] It would appear that these were the Blackfeet Indians, a large tribe of Algonquian origin that roved between the upper Missouri and the Saskatchewan. According to St. Pierre's account (see *Canadian Archives*, 1886, p. clxiii), they were the tribe surrounding Fort La Jonquière, and in perpetual warfare with the Assiniboin. Alexander Henry the elder speaks of seeing Blackfeet slaves among the Assiniboin, but says that the men were never enslaved, only the women and children. He speaks, likewise, of the indignity with which these slaves were treated, contrary to the usual custom among Indians; *Henry's Travels*, p. 312. Alexander Henry, the younger, constantly speaks of the Blackfeet as "Slaves", to the confusion of his editor—Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 523. The Blackfeet were among the fiercest of the Northwestern tribes. It was they who attacked Meriwether Lewis's party on Maria River in 1806, and not until nearly thirty years thereafter did the Americans succeed in establishing trading stations among them. Consult on this tribe *Early Western Travels*, especially "Maximilian's Voyage," vols. xxii–xxv.—Ed.

establishments of the English on Hudson bay, and that it is from here that their movements can be watched; the second is that it is from this post that the Western sea may be discovered; but in order to make this discovery it is necessary that the voyageurs abandon their individual interests.

Voyage of La Véranderie. The one who most advanced this discovery was the Sieur de la Véranderie;[39] he went from fort la Reine to reach the Missouri, and encountered first on that river the *Mandannes* or *Blancs Barbus* to the number of seven villages entrenched in forts of staked pickets with a moat.[40] Then the *Kinongewiniris* or the *Brochets*[41] to the number of three villages; at the upper part of the river he found the *Mahantas* forming also three villages, and along the Missouri as he descended it as far as the mouth of the river Wabiek or à la Coquille, twenty-three villages of Panis.[42]

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[39] For this officer see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 103. His explorations and voyages in the Northwest extended from 1731–43. In 1748 he was promoted to the grade of captain and given the cross of St. Louis; but while preparing to return to his Western explorations he died Dec. 6, 1749.—Ed.

[40] The first journey that La Vérendrye made overland from Fort La Reine, on Assiniboin River, was during the winter of 1738–39. He found the Mandan in six village forts on the Missouri River, extending from Heart River northward. See journal in *Canadian Archives*, 1889, pp. 2–25; see also Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904), index, for the sites of the old Mandan villages. The sons of La Vérendrye returned to the Mandan in 1742, and pursued thence their course to the Rocky Mountains. Bougainville is evidently speaking of the two separate journeys as though they were one.—Ed.

[41] Brochet means Pike, and therefore some writers have identified this tribe with the Assiniboin who called themselves Hohay (Fish catchers). However, the explorers had long been familiar with the Assiniboin and were not likely to have given them two names. From the location, these would appear to have been the Minitaree, of Hidatsa origin; see "Maximilian's Travels" in *Early Western Travels*, xxiii, pp. 377–385.—Ed.

[42] This passage is difficult of interpretation. The Mahantas may have been the Maha, or Omaha, a Siouan tribe; but they are not known to

To the southwest of that river and on the two banks Ouonaradeba or *à la Graisse* are the Hactannes or Gens de serpent.[43] They extend to the foot of a chain of very high mountains, that run northeast and south, and south of which is the river *Karoskiou* or *Cerise pelée* that is supposed to reach California.[44]

He continued his route and found in the immense country that the Missouri drains, on the opposite side, and about forty leagues from the *Mahantas*, the *Owilinioek* or beaux hommes, four villages; opposite the *Brochets*, the *Macateouadasites* or *Pieds-Noirs*, three villages of about one hundred cabins each; opposite the Mandannes are the *Ospekakaerenousques* or the gens du plat côté, four villages; opposite the *Panis* are the gens de l'arc, called *Atchapcivinioques* by the Cristinaux, and *Utasibaoutchactas* by the *Assiniboels*, three villages; next were found the Makesch or Petits Renards, two villages; the *Piwassa* or Grands-Parleurs, three villages; the *Kakakoschena* or gens de la Pie, five villages; the *Kiskipisounouinini* or gens de la Jarretière, seven villages.[45]

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have lived so far north. Neither does one descend the Missouri to reach the Rivière à la Coquille, which was the usual name given by French voyageurs to the Musselshell—a large northern affluent of the Missouri. Nor do the Panis (Pawnee) wander on the Musselshell, unless one accepts the conjecture that these were the Arikara, of the same linguistic stock as the Pawnee (Caddoan). The Arikara, however, were not known to have in historic times ascended so far to the north. The whole passage is confused, and doubtless interchanges the Musselshell and Platte rivers, to the latter of which the description better applies.—Ed.

[43] Granville Stuart, in Montana Historical Society *Contributions*, i, p. 313, very plausibly identifies this stream with Wind River, on whose banks grew much greasewood (à la Graisse), from which the stems of arrows were made. The Gens de Serpent were doubtless the Shoshoni, or Snakes, a powerful tribe who roamed in the mountainous regions of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho.—Ed.

[44] This river is easily identified with the Green, a northern branch of the Colorado south of the habitat of the Shoshoni. The aboriginal word for this stream in modern Shoshoni, is Kanaraogwa.—Ed.

[45] The identification of these tribes is difficult; the following is merely

He could not go farther because of the war which was then being waged between the gens de la Jarretière and the neighboring nation. For the rest, it is scarcely proper for me to use the term villages for all the nations that inhabit the prairies; they form, like the Turks, wandering hordes, they follow the beasts by whose hunting they live, their dwellings are cabins of skins.

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a tentative approximation. Parkman (*Atlantic Monthly*, lxxvi, p. 740) thinks "Beaux Hommes" refers to the Crows. This seems probable from the habitat, and the fact that many early travellers speak of this tribe as tall, handsome men, who dressed finely.

The "Pied-Noir" are not the Blackfeet, for whom see *ante*, p. 187, note 38, but the tribe called by the French "Souliers Noirs" (Black Shoe), and by Lewis and Clark "Wetersoon." They were of Hidatsa stock and lived in the neighborhood of the Minitaree.

Possibly the Gens du Plat Coté are the Arikara; the name appears however, to be an inversion of Grosventres (Big Bellies), which was often applied to the Minitaree. The true Grosventres were, however, a tribe in alliance with the Blackfeet—also known as Falls Indians.

Parkman thinks that the "gens de l'arc," or men of the bow, were bands of the Sioux, and Prud'homme identifies them with the Bow Indians of Bow River, a mountain affluent of the Saskatchewan. La Vérendrye's journal of the expedition of 1742-43, as given in Margry, *Découv. et Établ.*, vi, pp. 598-612, leads to the view that this tribe, with whom they long sojourned, and in whose company they first saw the Rocky Mountains, was either the Cheyenne or Arapaho, brave nomads of the plains east of the mountains, expert in the use of bow and arrow.

Petits Renards (Little Foxes) are not identified.

Possibly the Piassa or Grands-Parleurs (Great Talkers) are the Kiowa, a tribe of the plains allied to the Comanche.

Lewis and Clark mention a tribe whom they call Canenavich, whose name among French traders was Kite Indians. They may be the "Gens de la Pie" (Magpie people). This tribe seems to have vanished, else to have amalgamated with some other.

Gens de la Jarretière (Garter people) were no doubt those who wore the short leggings tied with woven garters just above the knee, instead of the long leggings to the thigh, worn by most Northern tribes. F. S. Dellenbaugh, *Breaking the Wilderness* (New York, 1905), p. 88, says this was the case with the tribes who came in contact with the Spanish in the Southwest; hence the Comanche or Navaho.—Ed.

The Népigons[46] is a post established at the north of Lake Superior; the commandant is its farmer, and the price of the lease is about four thousand francs; it includes the lake à la Carpe situated * * *

The savages who trade there are the Saulteux; that nation is one of the most numerous of these countries, is a wandering one, does not sow anything, and lives only by hunting and fishing. There comes from this post ordinarily each year eighty to a hundred packages of * * *

Pointe de Chagoamigon (Monsieur de Beaubassin) is situated * * * This post is farmed until 1758 for eight thousand francs to the sieur de Saint-Luc; there are neither presents nor certificates, only the interpreter to pay. The commandant has three thousand francs for gratification.

The savages who come here to trade are the Saulteux. There issues annually from this post about two hundred and fifty packages.

Kamanistigoya (Monsieur de Repentigny) or the Three Rivers is situated * * * This post has been leased to the late Monsieur Cugnet for four thousand francs; as he has sublet it to sieur Toussaint Portier the court has allowed him the excess in order to reimburse him for the exploitation of the licenses of Saint-Maurice.

The king pays but two thousand livres of gratification to the commandant, there are no presents nor certificates; the lease of this post will end in 1758. The savages who come there to trade are the Saulteux. There comes annually from this post sixty to seventy packages of * * *

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[46] The first post founded on this lake was built by Duluth in 1684 and held by his brother, Sieur de la Tourette, as late as 1688. It was located on the northern shore of Lake Nipigon, and sometimes was called Fort La Tourette. The later French post (founded probably after the re-building of Mackinac, 1713) was at the mouth of River Nipigon, on the north shore of Lake Superior. Alexander Henry saw the ruins of this post when he passed here in 1775, and remarked on the fine furs obtainable there.—Ed.

Michipicoton is a post situated at the northeast of Lake Superior, as that of Kamanistigwia is at the northwest. The Saulteux come there to trade. There comes from this post fifty to sixty packages.

Sault de Sainte-Marie, a picket fort is situated on the strait between Lake Superior and Lake Huron; it was established in 1750.

The trade was accorded free to the commandant in order to facilitate the establishment. The king gives five hundred francs of gratification taken from Michilimakinac, of which this post is a dependency. The savages who trade there are the Saulteux. There comes from there annually a hundred packages. The sieur Debonne and the sieur de Repentigny have the concession of this post for a hereditary seigniory.

Trade and licenses.—In almost all of the posts the house where the officer in command lodges, surrounded by pickets, is honored with the name of fort. In Canada, they call a fort a species of public shop where trade in peltries is carried on with the savages, who give them in return for these the merchandise that they need. Formerly the posts were auctioned off, and the merchants could thus obtain possession; they gave a profit to the king and paid the officer who commanded. To-day the governor general disposes of them for the benefit of his favorites, with the approbation of the court. The most important are the Sea of the West, the post of la Baye, Saint-Joseph, the Nipigons, and Michilimakinac, if they do not give at the latter place many licenses. The post of Détroit has never been given away, there they have the license system.

There are posts where the trade is carried on for the benefit of the king; such are Toronto, Frontenac, Niagara, the petit Portage, la Presqu'Isle, the river au Boeuf, fort Machault, fort Duquesne. The traffic at these posts is very burdensome for the king, who always loses, and it is carried on only in order to preserve the good-will of the savages; but the storekeepers and the commandants take care to enrich themselves.

The post of la Baye was worth in three years to Messieurs

Rigaud and Marin three hundred and twelve thousand livres; and in the time of Monsieur Marin père, who had as associates Messieurs de la Jonquière and Bigot, it produced more than one hundred and fifty thousand livres per year net. It was then that they proved the proverb, the blessing of peace is more valuable than war.

The returns from the post of the Sea of the West are also considerable.

License is the name given to the permission that the governor-general accords for a canoe loaded with six thousand livres of merchandise, which they carry for sale to one of the posts indicated. the price of this permission is fifty pistoles and the governor general, who determines whether he will give more or less in number, applies the funds received to the support of the poor families of officers. Account is rendered to the king for only twenty-two licenses; the governor often gives as many as forty, the half of the fifty pistoles goes into the king's treasury, and the other half is at the disposal of the governor for gratifications.

Michilimakinac is the entrepôt of all the posts of the north and Detroit of all those of the south.

Détroit the most beautiful country of all the Upper Nations, has a temperate climate, where the vine might be produced.

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Savages.—Aouapou is a savage word employed by the Canadians to denote the complete suit of clothing that one must give to a savage. It consists of a blanket, a shirt, leggings, shoes, and a breechcloth; when there is added to this a capot, it is a present.

The equipment is the same for the women, except that in place of the breechcloth they give them a short skirt called a petticoat (machicotté), and if a young man lacks the courage to defend himself, and to come and go to war, they impose on him the ignominy of wearing a petticoat. The Five Nations, having formerly vanquished the Loups, adopted them, and forbade them going to war and ordered them to wear the petti-

coat. These same Loups having been attacked by the English several years ago, and having beaten them, they took off from them the petticoat, and returned to them the breechcloth.

Apichmont is a savage word used in the French language among the Canadians to express the winter equipment, in which there is a bear skin, the skin of a sea-wolf, snow shoes, a portage collar, leggings, etc.

Foot races.—At Détroit foot races between the savages and the Canadians are as celebrated as horse races in England. They take place in the spring. Ordinarily there are five hundred savages present, sometimes as many as fifteen hundred. The course is a half league, going and returning from Détroit to the village of the Poutéouatamis; the road is well made and wide. There are posts planted at the two extremities; the wagers are very considerable, and consist of packages of peltries laid against French merchandise such as is in use among the savages.

The most celebrated Canadian who has run and won from the savages is a certain Campo;[47] his superiority is so well recognized that he is no longer admitted to the races.

There is to be found in the customs of the savages traces of the ancient usages of the Greeks, I see especially in their warlike manners and customs those of the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; some of them also have the custom like the Hebrews of separating the women in cabins apart and having no intercourse with them during their courses. The separation of the houses is perhaps too much, but not to hold intercourse is according to the principles of a healthy physique and the love of humanity, not to raise an unfortunate progeny, destined to live in infirmity.

The king gives many presents to the savages of the Upper

[47] The Campeau family were among the principal habitants of Detroit. Two brothers, Michel and Jacques, removed there early in the history of the place, and by this time had numerous descendants. For a genealogy see M. C. W. Hamlin, *Legends of le Détroit* (Detroit, 1884), pp. 275–281.—Ed.

Country, that cost in an ordinary year 150,000 francs; they supply their needs in return for peltries, and this is called carrying on trade, a custom that enriches the individuals to whom the posts are granted; in some the king reserves for himself the commerce, and as it is carried on at a disadvantage for the sole reason that it is for the king, he loses thereby each year, 100,000 crowns. These expenses are, nevertheless, much below those incurred in time of war to equip, arm, feed, reward, and give collars to so many of our domiciled savages, as well as to those of the Upper Country, when we wish them to come down to our assistance.

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1757: SUBMISSION OF THE IOWA

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated July 20, 1757. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 102, fol. 84."]

MONTREAL, July 20, 1757.

MONSEIGNEUR—Previous to my arrival in this colony, the Ayoouois killed two Frenchmen in the Missouri country. I at once hastened to give my orders to the commandants of the posts whither that nation might come, that the first officer to whose post they came was to compel them themselves to bring me the murderers.

The commandant of La Baye[48] had occasion to see those Ayoouois. He spoke to them in my name with such firmness that 10 savages of the same nation came to Montreal expressly to deliver the murderers to me. They presented them to me in the name of their nation with great submission and resignation that I might have their heads broken if such was my intention. They nevertheless earnestly begged me to pardon them and assured me that they themselves would avenge the death

[48] Sieur Hubert Couterot, for whom see *ante*, p. 184, note 28.—ED.

of the two Frenchmen and would compensate me for their loss by the blows they would strike against the English.

All our nations of the upper countries and our domiciled savages who were in this town, to the number of from 1,700 to 1,800,[49] joined those Ayoouois and gave me the most touching words to induce me to pardon them. I did not deem it advisable to refuse them because all those nations were about to start to join my expedition against fort George and circumstances required that I should give proofs of kindness to all those nations.

Nevertheless, I made them very anxious to obtain that favor and granted it only after repeated solicitations.[50]

That favor will contribute more to restrain the savage nations than if I had had the two murderers' heads broken, be-

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[49] The fall of Fort Oswego in the summer of 1756 produced a profound effect in the upper country; see *ante*, p. 164, note 6. Thereupon great numbers of the tribesmen, thinking the French cause liable to triumph, offered their services for the campaign of 1757. Early in May they began to arrive at Montreal, and detachments under trusted leaders were dispatched to the army at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. June 23, Montcalm wrote that there were eight hundred at Montreal, of whom four hundred were Ottawa, one hundred Folles Avoines, three hundred Puants, Sakis, Renards, and Iowa—"the latter have never appeared before at Montreal." On the campaign there were 1,800 in all, of whom less than 500 were mission Indians. See lists in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 630; consult also "Journal of Lévis," in *Levis MSS.*, i, pp. 89–91.—Ed.

[50] Montcalm, in a letter to Bourlamaque, dated Montreal, June 23, 1757, writes the following description of this ceremony: "There occurred here, yesterday, the grand ceremony of pardoning two Iowas who had killed two Frenchmen, two years ago. They smoked the peace calumet; the murderers were brought out, bound, with the emblem of a slave [prisoner] in their hands, singing their death song as if they were to be burned. Saint-Luc and Marin fulfilled the functions of the chevalier de Dreux and Monsieur Desgranges.

"These savages, so the ladies say, dance much better than our domiciled ones, and one of these days they are to be reviewed on the plain du Sablon. The generals and the ladies will be present." *Lévis MSS.*, v, pp. 175, 176.—Ed.

cause all the nations that interested themselves in their fate are, at the same time, obliged to punish them if they dip their hands in French blood in future.[51]

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

1757: EXPLOITING LA BAYE

[Contract dated Sept. 30, 1757. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 261.]

We the undersigned have made The Contract of Partnership for the Space of Three years Consecutively Commencing next spring one Thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight as follows.

Be it known that Pierre Rigaut de Vaudreüil possessor of La Baye des puants, the Sioux and their dependencies Cedes for Three Consecutive years Commencing next spring one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight to S[ieur] Jacque Giasson and Ignace hubert[52] a third interest in the Commerce of the Abovementioned post And Dependencies on the Conditions hereafter announced.

1st. That the said S[s] Giasson And hubert promise and

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[51] In point of time between this document and the next, note the appointment of Charles Langlade as second in command at Michilimakinac—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 213. No doubt he went back with Indians returning from the siege of Fort George (William Henry).—ED.

[52] Two prominent traders of Montreal, allied by marriage. Jacques Giasson was born in 1709, married (1745) Marie Angélique Hubert, and was interred at Lake of Two Mountains in 1762. He left sons who continued the outfitting business in the Northwest during the British regime. Ignace Hubert *dit* La Croix was born at Montreal in 1719, and married there (1746) Angélique Porlier. Giasson went up to Mackinac the following spring—see letter to Langlade carried by him, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 213. It should, however, read, "The Sieur Giasson, Monsieur, will not leave you in ignorance," etc.—ED.

agree to maintain And Exploit The abovementioned post during the Course of Three years with the Exclusive Commerce of the said Place having the Liberty to take there such Clerks as shall be necessary Who are to be paid from the Sum total of The Partnership; and That at least a third interest shall be accorded to them—a Third of The profit as well as In the losses, this shall be to the said partners collectively with Mr de Rigaud sharing prorata with their Interest.

2nd. The said associates shall be Bound to make on the Account of The partnership the purchase of the necessary merchandise for the exploitation of the Abovementioned post, to employ Such Commissioner or Outfitters as they shall Judge best—the said Sr. de Rigault wishing that the associates may be entirely Charged with The administration of the said post, and not intending to interfere in any wise by means of His authority.

3d. The Contracting parties Agree that the two associates exploiting in the first year of the Cession shall Be held to pay for the Common charge of The said partnership only the Salaries accorded to the Commandant and to The interpreter and in Case that in The last two years Mr de Rigault is obliged to pay to the King The lease of the said post The said associates shall enter into The said lease only to The sum of eight thousand Livres without being liable either for the salary of the Commandant nor That of The interpreter, They will enter therein in proportion to the interest that they have in the said Partnership.

4th. Upon Their arrival at the post There shall Be made in the presence and sight of Mr Couterot an Inventory of the goods Remaining there, and for These goods the associates shall Agree to pay to Mr. de Rigault fifteen [percent] more than for those that they bought in Montreal The Credits of the savages which are Turned in shall be Placed In the Assets of the partnership, and Upon The dissolution of The same, The said associates Renounce Entirely those that would be due to them, and turn them over to the said Sr. de Rigault.

It is likewise Agreed between The said parties that Neither one of the Two can ask Anything upon his own account nor Draw out of The said partnership any funds until The Dissolution of The said partnership

The Commandant cannot for any Reason whatsoever carry on any Commerce Within All the Limits of the said post; the undersigned associates are Bound to Receive In the Canoes Only The amount of Two thousand weight Each year simply for his subsistence. If The said Commandant is called to missilimakinnac He shall make use of the ordinary means of conveyance which The partnership Employs for Its Commerce and not demand an especial conveyance, Likewise for His Return to Montreal. Mons[r]. De Rigault agrees to Settle with M. The Intendant for the Sums which have been advanced to Him out of the Returns that he will Receive from the said post next autumn, so that the present Partnership shall not Be Held To accept the debts that will be Contracted.

The undersigned associates shall be fed at the expense of The partnership without either of them being able to exact A Detailed Account of the expense of the food and Drink that they may Consume It will be permitted to Them also to procure on the account of the partnership The clothes that they wear, such As Shirts, Capots, mitasses, and other necessities of the said Place; They shall not be Required to pay rent for any Building for Lodging nor in Case it shall be necessary to construct a New one [shall they pay for it]. They have Nothing to Add to the above. It shall Be Allowable for One Of the Two associates to Descend to Montreal if he shall judge that his presence Is necessary there for the Welfare of The said Partnership.

The undersigned associates have Thus Agreed to faithfully observe the present Contract and have Signed at Montreal September thirtieth, one thousand Seven hundred and Fifty-Seven.

RIGAUD DE VAUDREUIL.
I. G. HUBERT.
JACQUE GIASSON.

1757: TRADE WITH UPPER POSTS

[Letter from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated Oct. 30, 1757. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Canada, Corresp. gén., C 11, vol. 102, fol. 165."]

QUEBEC, October 30, 1757.

MONSEIGNEUR—The trade that Monsieur Bigot has caused to be carried on for the King's account at the posts of Frontenac, Niagara, and Belle Rivierre would have been considerable this year had those posts been sufficiently supplied with goods; but they were unprovided while the nations of the upper countries had an abundance. Most of them even left their furs in His Majesty's store-houses and were content with a note from the store-keeper who promised to fill their demands next spring. I had foreseen that our present dearth of all things would place us in that position but notwithstanding Monsieur Bigot's willingness, he was unable to remedy this. We are as much unprovided as unfortunately the needs of the service are becoming more urgent. It is certain, Monseigneur, that, when peace comes, the King's posts will return large profits through the abundance of furs that will come to them from all sides as the Savages no longer have the advantage they had of trading at Chouaguen.

I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

1758: SUB-LEASE OF NORTHERN POSTS

[Contract between Deschambault[53] and Chevalier de Repentigny, dated March 24, 1758. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 363.]

Concerning the offers that Monsieur Le Chevalier de Repentigny wishes to make me, to have ceded to me the posts of

[53] Joseph Fleury, Sieur d'Eschambault, was born in 1709, and having inherited a large capital and much financial ability, became the

Kamenetigouia and michipicoton free from the Charges of the lease; and [on] the condition of taking all the Merchandise to be sold at a profit that remains at these two posts at 10 percent advance on the invoices that the outfitters make this year at Montreal; also the Merchandise at list price [*a prix fait*], at 5 percent advance of that of [established by] the said Outfitters. The Utensils and equipment of the said Posts [to be taken] according to the Estimate that Shall be made at Michilimakinac. Requiring that the payment be made next year on The returns of the said posts in Beaver or peltries, and moreover that a third of what the Inventory to be made shall show be paid to him this autumn.

The Following is the reply that I have the honor to make to these offers.

1. I will take all the Merchandise to be sold at a profit that remains at the said posts according to the inventory at 10 percent advance on the price that Monsieur St. ange, Outfitter for the post of Labay, has charged This year; also the Merchandise at list price at 5 percent advance on the purchase price as shown in the invoice of Messieurs Toussaint and Hery, your Outfitters.

As for the equipment and utensils I understand that there are only a few Canoe Sails, Nets, and some Axes already used, these I consent likewise to take according to the price that Shall be estimated.

2. In the matter of payment, I consent to give next year all the returns as well in beaver as peltry which shall come down from said posts in payment of what Shall be due, And as [MS. mutilated] the said returns may recompense me and satisfy [MS. mutilated] entirely; be it understood that this

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greatest merchant of the colony, and agent for the Company of the Indies, then the chief trading corporation in New France. During the latter years of the French and Indian War, he used his great fortune and credit for the benefit of the state, and after the conquest of the colony found himself much embarrassed. Dying in 1789 he left numerous descendants. He was a nephew of the Marquise de Vaudreuil, and brother-in-law of Rigaud.—Ed.

is on the basis that Monsieur de Repentigny has said to me that There remains in these two posts more than One Hundred thousand Livres [worth of furs]. It may happen that there shall remain there greater sums than the returns that come down, in that case I Consent to pay that which remains [MS. mutilated] only the following year.

If the offers hereinbefore mentioned are accepted by Monsr. de Repentigny and meet with the approbation of Monsieur the General, will the former have The Goodness to Communicate to me The Letters that he receives this autumn from His Clerks or associates in the said posts, and to send me the reports that are sent from there, that I may understand the state of affairs.

3. The farmers who offer to take your posts on the Conditions that are made to you, demand that the Lease shall be for six years, in order to put themselves in a position to make the necessary Outlay that they propose to have made, and to trade at low prices, which is the Sole means of attracting there all The Savages of These two posts who have entirely departed thence and of whom a large part are gone to Hudson Bay; moreover the war which possibly may continue is a sufficient obstacle [in itself] to necessitate the request for time for recouping one's self at Labay for the great losses that one Runs the risk of making there.

DECHAMBAULT.

At MONTREAL, March 24, 1758.

I accept the posts of Kamanetegouia and michipicoton on the Conditions as thus explained in the two first articles announced in the present document without insisting on the third; and I promise to have the act passed before a notary, whenever M. De Repentigny shall desire it.

DECHAMBAULT.

Done at MONTREAL, March 24, 1758.
LE GARDEUR DE REPENTIGNY.

1758: DISTURBANCE AT LA BAYE

[Reports from several sources of an emeute at the post of La Baye. The first, reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, p. 840.]

May 16th. News from all the Upper posts. * * * The Commandant of Detroit is dying;[54] the Five Nations go rarely to Niagara; there is a little fermentation and discontent against us among the Indians of St. Joseph, the Miamis, and Outias [Ouiatanon]. The Folles Avoins have killed eleven Canadians at The Bay; missed the Commandant and pillaged a storehouse. A great many Indians have died at Michilimakinac. The Commandant of Louisiana writes that they have had no ships from France for two years, and that he is greatly embarrassed having nothing to give the Nations.

[Reprinted from François Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War*, translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough (Roxbury, Mass., 1866), i, p. 104.]

We learned about this time [early in May], by a courier from Niagara, that the Indians called *Folles-Avoines,* had killed twenty-two French, and pillaged the magazine of the post at La Baye. They will soon make reparation for what they have done.

[Letter from Montcalm, dated Montreal, May 15, 1758. Translated from the *Lévis MSS.*, v, p. 247.]

Letters come from the Illinois, la baie, Saint-Joseph, Louisiana, and none from Belle Rivière. That which is to be

[54] This was Sieur de Muy, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 183. His death is there given too early; it occurred May 18, 1758. He was second in command at Detroit under Céloron, being appointed chief commandant and major in 1755.—Ed.

deplored is that the Iowa[55] have struck us at la Baie, and slain tweny-two Frenchmen, and the Commandant has shown himself inept through fear. Also towards the Illinois several savages have killed Frenchmen and made an officer prisoner.

[Entry in Montcalm's journal, dated Aug. 13, 1758. Translated from *Lévis MSS.*, vii, p. 432.]

The Folles Avoines have sent as prisoners to Montreal the seven savages of their nation, who this winter have assassinated a French family at la Baie. Three of them have been shot on the town square, and the other four must go to the war and expose themselves to danger [*jeter leur corps*] in order to expiate their crime. This submission of an independent nation more than five hundred leagues distant, does great honor to the French name.

1758: EXCESSIVE EXPENDITURE

[Letter in cipher, from the French minister to Vaudreuil and Bigot, dated Sept. 23, 1758. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "série B, vol. 107, fol. 53."]

VERSAILLES, September 23, 1758.

MESSIEURS—The opportunity afforded by a merchant ship about to sail from Brest and which expects to reach the entrance of the river before the ice forms, leaves me only time to acknowledge the receipt of all the letters you sent me by the frigate la Valeur. I put off answering each one in particular until I have received those I expect by the last vessels you will send off this autumn, but I cannot conceal from you how I have been struck by the excessive expenditure of the Colony,

[55] Mistake of Avoines (from Folles Avoines) for Ayoues (Iowa). It was a Menominee uprising.—ED.

above all, that for this year which, Monsieur Bigot tells me, will amount to 20 millions, besides the expenses incurred for the savages in the Upper Country, owing to the ravages of smallpox among them,[56] and which will be an additional million. It is impossible, notwithstanding the high price of provisions and the quantities consumed in war, that the expenditure can amount to such an enormous sum without there having been neglect or abuse * * *

1758: DISTRUST AND DISHONESTY AT POSTS

[Translated from Montcalm's journal, in *Lévis MSS.*, vii, pp. 457, 489, 490.]

News from St. Joseph River of October 1. Smallpox, that has ravaged among the savages the past year, together with the artifices instigated in their midst by the English, have occasioned much fermentation among the savages of the Upper Country. This spirit has even spread among the Poutéotamis, always attached to the French, the sole savage nation that has never been reproached for any murder. They have, however, wished to assassinate a Canadian, according to letters from Monsieur le Verrier, commandant of that post. The news of the success of the battle of July 8[57] restrained them.

Dec. 10. These posts [of the Upper Country] in times of peace have been worth immense sums to their proprietors, by means of the pernicious trade in brandy and the presents of the

[56] The Indians carried back smallpox with them from the siege of Fort William Henry (1757), and numbers died thereof at Mackinac in the winter of 1757-58.—Ed.

[57] Refering to Montcalm's defeat of Abercrombie's forces at Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, where the former repelled an army of nearly four times the number of his own.—Ed.

King that they sell instead of giving to the savages. The war, rendering merchandise dear, has made these posts worth little or nothing; but as the proprietor or merchant is also a commanding officer, one must suppose that they fabricate a supply of certificates for expenses incurred in behalf of the savages. The excess of these has been enormous. This year there appeared eleven thousand livres[58] of expense at Michilimackina. Monsieur le marquis de Vaudreuil has not yet been willing to sign for more than one hundred thousand écus;[59] that is far too much, but it will be obtained. At the post of la baie which belongs to Monsieur de Rigaud his brother, and is exploited by his lieutenant, Monsieur de Couteret, nephew of the said Monsieur de Rigaud, although this post has produced fifty thousand écus worth in peltries and the cost has not been more than thirty thousand livres, that officer has presented five hundred thousand livres of certificates that the marquis de Vaudreuil has signed. The intendant, accustomed, moreover, to pass all, has protested, and has wished to give only forty thousand livres in letters of exchange for the first term. Finally, after urgent solicitations, this matter has been arranged at two hundred thousand livres of certificates for imaginary expenses. The Sieur de Couteret has produced letters of Monsieur Rigaud, authorizing him to make a great quantity of certificates. Legal proof of these facts is impossible; the signature of the two King's officers covers all; but the facts are publicly stated. Never have theft and license gone so far.

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[58] This should be eleven hundred thousand livres. See preceding document.—Ed.

[59] An écu was a silver coin, worth at this period, six livres. A livre was worth within a small fraction of what equals the modern franc. The purchasing power of money was, however, much greater at that period than at present, so that this sum was equivalent to between five and six hundred thousand dollars of the American currency of today.—Ed.

1759: GRANT OF LA BAYE TO RIGAUD

[Letter from the French minister to Vaudreuil, dated Jan. 26, 1759. MS. in Archives Coloniales. Paris; pressmark, "série B, vol. 109, fol. 24."]

VERSAILLES, January 26, 1759.

MONSIEUR—I had much pleasure in reporting favorably to the King on the services rendered by Monsieur de Rigaud in Canada. His Majesty is so satisfied with them that he has been pleased to concede the post of la Baye for life to him and to Madame de Rigaud. His Majesty has departed in his favor from the rule he has laid down in the colony to farm out the posts and not concede any more to any person. This is a favor the extent whereof you are aware; and I most willingly contributed to it.

You will see, however, by a joint letter to you and Monsieur Bigot that I have not been able to send to Monsieur de Rigaud the patent he needs for the enjoyment of that post, owing to lack of information to be entered in it; but such enjoyment shall not be delayed because His Majesty has authorized you to grant Monsieur de Rigaud such concession, which will be ratified next year on the collated copy you have sent me.

[Letter from Rigaud to the French minister, dated Sept. 13, 1759. Source, same as preceding document, but C 11, vol. 104, fol. 86.]

MONTREAL, September 13, 1759.[60]

I have received the letter you were good enough to write me on the 26th January last. I am very grateful for your kindness in procuring from His Majesty the concession for life of the post of la Baie, for Madame de Rigaud and myself. I feel, Monseigneur, that I am indebted for this favor from the King to the reports you have been pleased to give him respecting my services.

[60] It is worth noting that this letter from Rigaud, governor of Montreal, was written on the very day of the battle on the Plains of Abraham, that determined the destinies of New France.—ED.

I have the honor to inform you of all that has occurred until today in my government. You will see by the report I send that I have done all I could, under the unfortunate circumstances in which the colony was placed, to give the King sure proofs of my zeal and faithfulness in his service.

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I remain with very profound respect, Monseigneur, your very humble and very obedient servant

RIGAUD DE VAUDREUIL.

1759: NEWS FROM THE UPPER COUNTRY

[Extracts from contemporary documents. The first is translated from the journal of Lévis in the *Lévis MSS.*, i, p. 171.]

Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil has received March 2, news of the Upper Country. They inform him that the savages continue to be well-disposed toward us; and from the Illinois word comes that provisions will be sent to the Beautiful River [Ohio] by way of the Ouabaches and the portage of the Miamis to lake Erie. The commandant of the Illinois has hopes that he can send the same quantity as last year, and that Monsieur Aubry[61] will have charge of the convoy and the reinforcements of men.

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[61] Charles Philippe Aubry, the last French governor of Louisiana, entered the army in 1741, and served in eight campaigns in Bavaria, Bohemia, and Italy. Soon after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) he was sent with a detachment of soldiers to New Orleans. Not long after the commencement of the French and Indian War, Aubry led (1756) a reinforcement to the Illinois. The following year he was sent to build a fort near the Tennessee River, and reconnoitred many miles up that stream toward the English settlements. In the autumn of the same year he repulsed an attack of a considerable body of Cherokee from Fort Massac. Early in 1758 (March 10), Aubry set out with a large convoy from the Illinois for Fort Duquesne. There he led the charge against Major Grant's forces, and severely defeated

[Extracts from letters from Montcalm to Bourlamaque, dated March 12 and 15, 1759. Translated from *Lévis MSS.*, v, pp. 290-292.]

Our news from Detroit of the 13 [of January] speaks of the scarcity of provisions, and the letters especially say that the Hurons wish to remain tranquil on their mats. The letters from Michilimakinac speak of the scarcity of provision, and the difficulty of making the savages come down.

According to Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil there is good news from Michilimakinac, la baie, Saint-Joseph, the Oyatonons—great affection of the savages. According to the same, good news from Detroit—great affection of the savages. However the Hurons, invited by a collar to an assembly, went there, although Bellestre told them that they rendered themselves suspected by these means.

[Extract from the journal of Montcalm, dated May 11, 1759, in *Lévis MSS.*, vii, p. 518.]

Monsieur de Bellestre writes from Detroit that we must not expect great succor from thence; there does not yet appear to be any movement [of the savages].

There is no news of the convoy from the Illinois. According to the deposition of a prisoner at the Beautiful River,

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them. For lack of provisions, Aubry had retired to the Illinois before the arrival of Forbes's troops. In 1759 Aubry led a large convoy and detachment to Fort Machault, that joined Des Lignery at that place early in July. The 24th of the same month they were defeated near Niagara by a body of English, and Aubry was carried prisoner to New York. Having been exchanged, he was in Paris early in 1761, and after receiving the cross of St. Louis returned to Louisiana. There he was commandant of troops, until upon the death of d'Abbadie (Feb. 4, 1765), he became governor. Involved in the revolution of 1768 against the Spaniards, Aubry was accused of betraying his compatriots to the Spanish authorities. He left the colony late in 1769 and was lost in a shipwreck before reaching France.—Ed.

the English desire to attempt something by the river of the Chérokis against a fort that we have in that region.[62] They have also raised a considerable body of troops in Virginia. However this deposition is the only one that speaks of these things, the others do not say a word of it.

They say that Monsieur de Langlade is on the march with many savages from the region of Michilimakinac, to come, it is said, to our vicinity.

News from Saint-Joseph: Monsieur le Verrier, who commands there, waits with impatience the return of the savages who are out hunting, in order to send them down according to the orders of Monsieur the marquis de Vaudreuil.

[Extract from Pouchot, *Memoir*, i, p. 114.]

On the 17th [of May, 1759], a Sauteur of Saguinan informed us that the commandant, Monsieur Bellestre, was there,

[62] A fort near the mouth of Tennessee (Cherokee) River was projected in 1756, but failed of accomplishment for lack of funds. In 1757, on the rumored approach of a large body of Cherokee, led by English colonists, Major Macarty, commandant at the Illinois, dispatched Aubry to erect such a fort. He named it Fort de l'Ascension, because the first pickets were placed on the holy day of that name. Next year the fort was rechristened Massiac (Massac) in honor of the minister of the marine. This fort was attacked in the autumn of 1757 by a considerable body of Indians, who after some days were repulsed. The garrison was maintained until 1765, being reduced in 1763 to one officer and fifteen men. The fort was a square, flanked with four bastions at the corners, and protected by pickets and an abattis of tree trunks. It occupied the only elevated site in that region, eleven miles below the mouth of the Tennessee, on the northern side of the Ohio. English engineers recommended the reoccupation of this site, but this was never done, and George Rogers Clark here started (1778) overland for his conquest of the Illinois. In 1794 the United States built a fort upon the site, to repel filibustering expeditions against Spanish Louisiana. This last post was garrisoned until after the War of 1812-15, and some vestiges of the earthworks thereof are still to be seen.—Ed.

and only awaited an order from Monsieur Pouchot[63] to come from Detroit, and that he had come to inform him so. The succors expected were greatly delayed, and still more than a hundred leagues distant.

Langlade, a colonial officer living in this country, was to have come down to Montreal with 1,000 Indians. Of this number there were some Folles Avoines, who as we have said killed two Frenchmen. They brought with them two of those most culpable in this murder, and delivered them to Monsieur de Vaudreuil, in an assembly where they covered these bodies. Monsieur de Vaudreuil gave them back to do justice, and they slew them with their arms, the first event of this kind on the part of the Indians since Europeans had lived in the country.[64] Finally, the nations of the Upper Country decided to leave and descend by way of the Great River and Presqu' Isle.[65]

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[63] François Pouchot was born in Grenoble in 1712, and entered the engineer corps in 1733. He became an officer in the regiment of Béarn, and campaigned in Italy, Flanders, and Germany. Promoted to a captaincy, and receiving the cross of St. Louis, he came to Canada with his regiment in 1755 and served on the principal campaigns. Montcalm commended him for his services at Ticonderoga in 1758. The following year he was sent to command at Niagara—a forlorn hope, to preserve the colony on that side. Approached by a large army under Johnson and Prideaux, he surrendered to the former in July, 1759, and was sent prisoner to Albany. Here he was exchanged later in the year. The next year Pouchot guarded Fort Lévis as long as was possible. Returning to France after the surrender of Canada, he lived quietly at Grenoble until the Corsican campaign, wherein he was killed in ambush in 1769.—Ed.

[64] This refers to events of the previous year; see *ante*, pp. 203, 204. Pouchot means to say that with Langlade, on his voyage down the Ottawa, were some of the tribe of Folles Avoines (Menominee) to whom this incident happened the previous year.—Ed.

[65] This should read that the nations of the upper country have decided to divide, and part (those from the northern posts) come by the Ottawa route; and the others (from Detroit and the Illinois) come by way of Lake Erie and Presqu'isle.—Ed.

[Extract dated June 29, 1759, from Pouchot, *Memoir*, i, p. 159.]

On the 29th [of June, 1759], a courier from Presque Isle announced that one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians would soon arrive from Detroit; six or seven hundred Indians with Monsieur Lintot, a hundred Indians with Monsieur Rayeul,[66] and also the convoy of Monsieur Aubry from Illinois, with a party of six or seven hundred from the Mississippi. There would consequently be required a large amount of provisions to receive them. Some Indians from Michilimakinac arrived the same evening, saying, that Messieurs la

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[66] This first officer was probably from Fort Miami. There were two young officers in the colony by the name of Godefroy de Linctot, both of them descendants of the officer noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 380. At the conquest of Canada one of these was a lieutenant and one a first ensign. They went to France, but in 1762 received permission to return to Canada. They seem to have established themselves as traders in the upper country, with headquarters at Cahokia, although in 1778 one was at Mackinac—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 287. Gautier speaks of both brothers in his journal of that year—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 105, 107. The one he mentions as "Sr. Delinctot laine," is the elder. These may have been father and son, although it was more usual in Canada thus to designate two brothers of the same name. One of the brothers died that winter—*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 8. The other who lived at Cahokia, was favorable to the American cause, and soon after George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois (1778), allied himself with the latter, and was appointed to secure the allegiance of the Indians. In this he was so successful as to occasion much disturbance among the British officers at Mackinac and Detroit—see *post*. Early in 1779 Linctot was chosen captain of a company raised by Clark to co-operate with him against Detroit. Linctot advanced to Ouiatanon, but Clark not having sufficient force at Vincennes to unite with him, the attempt was abandoned. Linctot was later raised to the rank of major. In 1780 he visited Fort Pitt in the interest of the American Indian alliance. In the summer of the following year he wrote Clark from St. Louis, but appears to have died soon afterwards.

Rayeul should be Bayeul (Bailleul), commandant at Quiatanon, for whom see *ante*, p. 175, note 14.—Ed.

Verranderie[67] and Langlade were coming down the great river, with twelve hundred Indians, Cristinaux, Sioux, Sakis, Folles-Avoines, Sauters and Reynards.[68]

1760: GARRISON AT FORT MASSAC

[Translated from transcript in Wisconsin Historical Library. Draper MSS. 23J152, made in 1845 from papers of the Rocheblave family at Montreal.]

May 22, 1760.

We Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villier Major Commanding the Province of the Illinois[69] Order Sieur de Rocheblave Lieuten-

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[67] Evidently this is Pierre Gautier de la Vérendrye, son of the officer noted on p. 188, note 39. For a brief sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 465. It has generally been supposed that La Vérendrye never returned to his Western posts after the death of his father in 1749. This, however, would indicate otherwise, as the Cristinaux Indians were evidently from the Post of the Sea of the West. Moreover, on the day before the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Vaudreuil speaks of proposals made by St. Luc and La Vérendrye for arrangements for the Western posts. See *Lévis MSS.*, viii, p. 106.—Ed.

[68] For the services of these Indians during the siege of Quebec, consult *Lévis MSS.*, passim. July 25th, they took part in a sharp engagement near the Falls of Montmorency, which if properly supported might have wrought great havoc in the English army—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 140-145. In the battle of the Plains of Abraham, Sept. 13th, Canadians and Indians formed on the right, and harassed the English with a cross-fire until driven back by a detachment from Wolfe's army. For the tradition of Langlade's participation, see *Id.*, iii, pp. 217, 218. The brothers supposed to be killed were probably half-brothers, sons of his mother while Madame Villeneuve.—Ed.

[69] Pierre Joseph Neyon de Villiers did not belong, as has been supposed (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 118, 119) to the family of Coulon de Villiers. He was born of a rich and noble family of Lorraine, entered the army in 1735, and served on the continent during King George's War (1744-48). In 1749 he was sent to Louisiana and there

ant at half pay in one of the companies of the troops of the Marines in this colony[70] to depart from this fort on the 22d of May with two boats and 50 soldiers and habitants charged with supplies and ammunition necessary for Fort Massiac, where he

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married (1754) the sister-in-law of Governor Kerlérec. In 1755 he was made major commandant at the Illinois, second to Macarty, whom he replaced in 1760. The period of his governorship was a trying one, falling in the years of the change of allegiance, and of Pontiac's conspiracy. In 1764 he put his command into the hands of St. Ange, and retired to New Orleans. Thence, the following year, he returned to Paris, where he lived until 1773. In the latter year, being made colonel of a regiment, he went to the West Indies, became brigadier-general and governor of a small colony, and died at sea after capture by an English vessel in 1779. See account by his descendant, Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, p. 190.—Ed.

[70] Philippe François Rastel, Sieur de Rocheblave, was born in France, and entered the army there, being retired on half-pay after the peace of 1748. Some time before the French and Indian War he came to Canada and was admitted to the colonial troops as cadet. It is claimed that he served against Braddock—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 113, 115. In 1756 he was on the Fort Duquesne frontier, and in 1759 was employed in guarding the boats of the Illinois detachment with Aubry, near Fort Niagara. He thus escaped capture, and retreated to Detroit and the Illinois, where this document proves that he was a half-pay lieutenant. In 1763 he was retired from the army and married at Kaskaskia to Michel Marie Dufresne. In 1765 he retired to the Spanish side of the Mississippi River, probably with St. Ange's party, and the next year was commandant at Ste. Geneviève, where he seems ultimately to have entered the Spanish service. In 1770 he had an altercation with the British commandant of the Illinois, that was a subject of correspondence between the two powers—*Chicago Hist. Soc. Colls.*, iv, p. 364. In 1773, owing to some legal difficulties with the Spaniards, he returned to British Illinois, and when Capt. Hugh Lord retired thence in May, 1776, he left Rocheblave in charge of British interests. There he was captured, July 4, 1778, by Col. George Rogers Clark, of the Virginia troops, and sent prisoner to that state. Placed on parole, he either evaded or broke his agreement and by July, 1780 joined the British in New York. The next year he was in Quebec, claiming damages and back-pay. In 1782–83 he visited Detroit, and probably Kaskaskia, and at the close of the war retired with his family to Varennes, near Montreal. At one time he was a member of the provincial parliament, and

PHILIPPE-FRANÇOIS RASTEL, SIEUR DE ROCHEBLAVE
Commandant at Massac and Kaskaskia. From portrait in possession of the family

will report with the greatest possible promptitude. He will exercise vigilance in the care of his supplies, as well as for the safety of the detachment confided to him, taking care to land only at places which appear to him most advantageous in affording shelter from incursions of the enemy.

Knowing the capacity and experience of Sieur de Rocheblave we have thought that no better choice could be made to supersede Sieur Decloutet[71] who at present commands at said fort Massiac, who will in accordance with our orders relinquish the Command to him together with the instructions which he has received from M. de Macarty which we do not modify in any of the articles, authorizing them as if they had emanated from us, those which refer to the service of the Fort as well as those relating to distribution of supplies & ammunition, upon which Sieur de Rocheblave cannot bestow [too much] attention.

We should think it an injustice to Sieur de Rocheblave to remind him of the discipline which he ought to maintain in the Fort, and of the care he must take to cultivate good feeling between the soldiers and the habitants.

We will simply content ourselves with suggesting to him that drink being the only thing that could disturb the tranquility and unity so necessary in that post, we deem ourselves indispensably obliged to order him to keep his hands upon all that may be on board of every kind except that which the king is accustomed to send for the relief of the sick and wounded that may be in the garrison.

We remark to Sieur de Rocheblave that he must make no disbursement nor repairs except such as have been previously approved by us. As to the number of soldiers and habitants which should compose the garrison of said fort he will allow it to remain in the state in which it will be committed to him by

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died in lower Canada in 1802. The Philippe de Rocheblave who was a habitant of Kaskaskia in 1790 was doubtless his son, and descendants yet reside in Canada. Nephews of his were in the employ of the North West Fur Company.—Ed.

[71] There was a French officer of this name in New Orleans, who became a Spanish subject, and before 1803 was captain of militia.—Ed.

Monsieur De Barry Lieutenant acting as aide-major,[72] changing nothing therein.

As regards changes whether of soldiers or habitants, we leave it to him to give leave therefor. As to that which every good Christian owes to God his creator, we know too well the sentiments of Sieur de Rocheblave to think it necessary to recommend to him to have prayers offered evening and morning and to put a check upon the blasphemy and oaths to which soldiers are only too much addicted.

In regard to unforseen events we can only, as we have before said, rely upon the capacity, vigilance, good conduct and experience in war of Sieur de Rocheblave.

NEYON DE VILLIER

Done and given at FORT CHARTRE The 22d May, 1760.

1760: THE WAR DRAWS TO A CLOSE

[Letters from Vaudreuil to the French minister, dated June 24, 1760. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 1091–1094.]

MONTREAL, 24th June, 1760.

MY LORD—I have the honor to render you an account of the news I have received from M. de MacCarty, Commandant of Fort Chartres.

He observes to me that his garrison is weaker than it ever has been. In fact, the check at Niagara has cost him the élite of his men.

He informs me that the English were noting down the islands and rivers which disembogue into that of the Cherakis.

In the last days of the month of June of the last year, five Chaouoinons of Charretier's band,[73] came to him and told him

[72] This officer retired to New Orleans, and was made major of that city before 1765.—ED.

[73] For Chartier see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 331.—ED.

there were forty of their cabins in the river coming to ask him for a piece of ground, as theirs was not good. M. de MacCarty sent some provisions to those Indians whom he placed near Fort Massiac;[74] they were more useful and less dangerous there, than when collected together at Sonyote [Scioto].

They have taken, at different times, four prisoners, ten scalps, but being menaced by a strong party of the enemy, they have abandoned Fort Massiac in the beginning of October, and retired towards the Illinois.

* * * * * * * *

The English being vigilant, profit by our scarcity of goods. They have invited the Illinois Nations to go to trade at The Rock [Le Rocher].[75]

M. de MacCarty having no traders, fears that those Nations, notwithstanding their good disposition, will repair to the English and introduce messages into all their villages.

M. de MacCarty writes me on the 12th of April last, that the English having had wagon loads of tar and tow conveyed to Pitsburgh, where they were building bateaux, he has caused Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a good ditch.

That the fort he has built at Kaskakiés is up to the parapet,[76]

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[74] This was probably the origin of the term Shawneetown, for the site of the Illinois village of that name. It was known that Shawnee once resided here, but the date and circumstances of the settlement have not before been known.—Ed.

[75] The enterprise of the English traders is here to be noted, that even before the capitulation of Montreal they had made plans to penetrate so far into the enemy's territory as Illinois River.—Ed.

[76] The fort at Kaskaskia was built before 1734; see plan in Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, p. 217. This work was evidently rebuilding and strengthening the post, which was situated upon a commanding rock on the eastern bank of Kaskaskia River, opposite the town. It was, however, burned in October, 1766, and the British thereafter fortified and occupied the Jesuits' house in the village, which was the stronghold captured by Clark in 1778. See map of Kaskaskia settlements, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 428, for location of old French fort.—Ed.

that he has made all the arrangements he has considered necessary, according to his strength to receive the enemy.

I have strongly recommended him to be on his guard. M. de Noyan de Villiers, who has been sent to relieve him, will be very vigilant.

All the garrisons belonging to our posts on the Beautiful river are retiring to Detroit with as much provisions, artillery, ammunition and merchandise as they can stow away in the bateaux; the surplus was given to the Indians.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presqu'isle followed the French to Detroit.

All the Nations of the Beautiful river witnessed with sorrow the departure of the French. Chevalier de Portneuf[77] sent them a message, especially to the Chaouoinons, to engage them to persevere in their good dispositions.

Mr Hertel, whom I had stationed at Sonyoto, has kept his ground.[78]

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[77] Etienne Robineau, Sieur de Portneuf-Neuvillette, belonged to the younger branch of the house of Portneuf. In 1748 he was made ensign, and led a raid from Fort St. Frédéric. At the opening of the French and Indian War (1754) he was with the detachment at Camp Chautauqua, employed in making batteaux for the transport of canoes and provisions. He seems to have accompanied Montcalm to Oswego in 1756. The following year, promoted to a lieutenancy, he was made commandant at Presqu'isle, being the last French officer at that place. In 1760 he retired to Detroit, as this document states, when the fort was occupied by a detachment from Fort Pitt under command of Col. Henry Bouquet. At the close of the war, Portneuf retired to France, but later returned to New Orleans and the Illinois.—Ed.

[78] Apparently there was no fort at the mouth of the Scioto, but a well-built Indian village of log-houses where the Shawnee made their headquarters, a French officer being kept there to maintain allegiance between them and the French.

There was a large family of Canadian noblesse known as Hertel. This was probably Pierre Antoine, Chevalier de Hertel, who was known to have been at Detroit in July, 1760. He was in France in 1762, but the following year received permission to return to Canada. He does not appear to have married.—Ed.

[Extract from a letter of Vaudreuil dated Montreal, Aug. 17, 1760. Translated from *Lévis MSS.*, viii, p. 208.]

I understand that Monsieur de Bourlamaque remains quiet; I sent him today the savages from the Upper Country with the Sieur de Langlade.[79]

[Note also the letters addressed by Vaudreuil to Langlade, printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 215–216. The first, dated Montreal, Sept. 3, 1760, orders Langlade to return with the Indians to Mackinac, and informs him that he will pass two companies of English deserters on their way to Louisiana; with these he must see that the Indians keep peace, and he is to make provisions for their proper treatment en route.[80] The second,

[79] Colonel de Bourlamaque was third in command of the French army sent with Montcalm to Canada in 1756. He acted as chief of engineers, was an officer of talent and experience, and possessed the full confidence of his chief. He accompanied Montcalm on the latter's campaigns of 1756–58; but in 1759 was assigned to the defense of the Lake Champlain frontier. Here he destroyed Ticonderoga and abandoned Crown Point, but prevented Amherst from making a junction with Wolfe. In the campaign of 1760 he was first with Lévis at Sainte Foy, where he was wounded, and later guarded the St. Lawrence at Sorel; he was at the latter place when reached by this reinforcement, rendered necessary from the fact that many of his other Indian allies had deserted him. All was to no purpose, however, and Bourlamaque was present at the capitulation of Montreal, Sept. 8, 1760. After returning to France, he was made brigadier-general, and appointed to the command of Guadeloupe, where he died in 1794.—Ed.

[80] These deserters were largely from the Royal American regiment; see F. B. Hough, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), p. 158. This famous regiment was created by act of parliament in 1755. It was to consist of 4,000 men in four battalions, to be officered by foreign Protestants, with a British colonel at the head, and to be recruited among foreign immigrants in America, chiefly the Germans of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The proposition is said to have emanated from Horace Walpole. Frederick Haldimand and Henry Bouquet were both chosen lieutenant-colonels, and came to

dated Montreal, Sept. 9, 1760, informs Langlade of the capitulation of Montreal, and the terms secured. The citizens of Mackinac will be under the command of the officer sent there by General Amherst.[81] This news is to be transmitted to St. Josephs. Vaudreuil hopes soon to meet Langlade in France.[82]]

America in 1756 to recruit therefor. At first known as the 62nd foot, it became in 1756 the 60th infantry, and still forms part of the British regulars. Its first colonels were Lords Loudoun and Abercrombie, and Sir Jeffrey Amherst. Much opposition to the enlistment and quartering of the troops of this regiment, arose in Pennsylvania. The 60th participated in all the important campaigns of the French and Indian War, different battalions serving under Forbes, Wolfe, and Amherst, at Pittsburgh, Louisburg, Quebec, and Montreal. Two battalions were disbanded in 1763–64, and the remainder were withdrawn from America in 1773.—Ed.

[81] Jeffrey Amherst was born in Kent, England, in 1717. Having entered the army when a boy of fourteen, he served as aide-de-camp in the German campaigns of the Duke of Cumberland. In 1756 he became colonel of the 15th infantry. In 1758 he was recalled from Germany, promoted at one bound to a major-generalship, and sent to America. The siege of Louisburg in that year was prosecuted under his direction. In the autumn, he was made commander-in-chief for America. In the campaign of 1759 Amherst took charge on the Lake Champlain frontier. In that of 1760, he advanced from Oswego against Montreal. The latter city capitulated to his arms Sept. 8, 1760. He retained his position as commander-in-chief, with headquarters at New York, until 1763. Although Amherst was titular governor of Virginia, that colony was actually ruled by its lieutenant-governor, Francis Fauquier. Amherst retired to England in 1763, where he was promoted to a peerage, and rose to be commander-in-chief of the army stationed in England, dying in 1797 shortly after promotion to the rank of field marshal.—Ed.

[82] According to the terms of the capitulation of Canada, Vaudreuil was to send immediate notice to the commandants of all the French posts. The officers were to be allowed, if they chose, to proceed to France.—Ed.

1760: MACKINAC EVACUATED

[Extract from a letter from D'Abbadie,[83] dated Aug. 9, 1764. Translated from Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, 1904), p. 191.]

Monsieur de Beaujeu, captain of Canada, formerly in garrison at Michilimakinac evacuated that post in the month of October, 1760, after the taking of Montreal,[84] in order to retire to the Illinois, with 4 officers, 2 cadets, 48 soldiers and 78 militia. The ice stopped his passage, and he was forced to winter at Rock river, with the Sakkis and Renards savages.[85] This officer and his troops suffered a great deal during the six months that it took to reach the Illinois. I ask to-day for your orders for the expense that the evacuation of that detachment has caused, amounting to 65,387 livres 10 sol according to the state-

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[83] Sieur d'Abbadie was born in southern France in 1726, finished his studies in 1742, and in the same year became clerk in the department of the marine. In 1745 he made a voyage to the Antilles and was captured by the English, being carried prisoner to England. Released the following year, he returned to Rochefort, where he was promoted through various ranks, until in 1761 named commissioner and ordinator-general of Louisiana. On his way to New Orleans he was again captured by the English, this time being kept for three months in the Barbadoes, returning to Paris in August, 1762. The next year he was appointed director-general of Louisiana, and superseding Kerlérec acted as governor during the interim between the treaty of Paris, and the transfer of Louisiana to the Spanish. D'Abbadie died at New Orleans, much regretted, in 1765.—Ed.

[84] Beaujeu must have left Mackinac soon after the arrival of Langlade, who brought news of the capitulation of Montreal.—Ed.

[85] Probably at the Sauk village not far above the mouth of Rock River, later known as Black Hawk's town. This tribal settlement was formed after the affair of 1733, when Coulon de Villiers was slain in the Sauk village near Green Bay—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 188–191; also *Proceedings*, 1907, p. 177. Marin was stationed here from 1738–41. Here Black Hawk was born in 1767, and his forceable removal therefrom was one of the inciting causes of the Black Hawk War (1832).—Ed.

ment sent me by Monsieur de Rochemore,[86] and on which account he has made payment of 15,396 livres. This expense has been made by the merchandise distributed among the savages with whom they wintered to supply the necessities of the detachment. The goods belonged chiefly to Messieurs de Beaujeu and de La Chapelle[87] and to the other officers and soldiers of the garrison of Michilimakinac.

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[86] Rochemore was commissary-intendant of Louisiana from 1758 to 1761. He was in constant dispute with Governor Kerlérec, and is chiefly remembered for his large emissions of paper currency.—Ed.

[87] Sieur Passerat de la Chapelle was an officer of good family in France, who came to Louisiana to seek his fortune. He was an adventurer and spendthrift, never paying his obligations, and was several times imprisoned for debt. During the latter years of the French regime, he seems to have been stationed at Detroit and the Illinois. A family of this name lived at Kaskaskia as late as 1790.—Ed.

The British Regime in Wisconsin

1760–61: THE BRITISH TAKE POSSESSION

[Upon the capitulation of Montreal,[88] General Amherst ordered Major Robert Rogers[89] to proceed with two companies of rangers to Niagara and Presqu'isle. There securing rein-

[88] Original documents from which the following is abridged, are: *Journals of Rogers*, pp. 175–202; Croghan's "Journal of 1760-61," in *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 100–125; "Bouquet Papers," in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 23–50.—Ed.

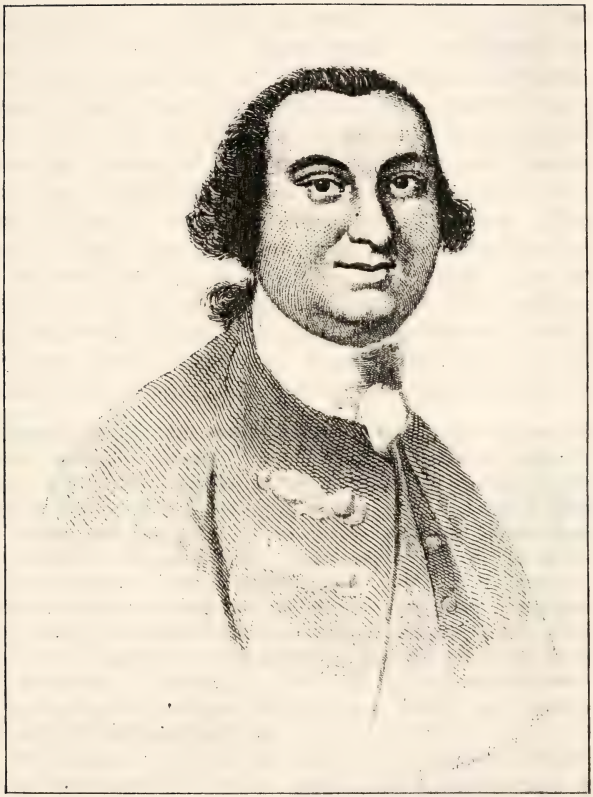
[89] Maj. Robert Rogers was born in New Hampshire, of Irish parentage, in 1727. In 1755 he joined the colonial forces and raised a body of troops known as "Rogers's Rangers," who were of great service to the British by their scouting and ranging operations, chiefly upon the Lake Champlain frontier. Jan. 21, 1757, Rogers was defeated near Lake George by a detachment of French and Indians under command of Charles Langlade, and the English commander was badly wounded. Rogers recovered in time, however, to take part in the Fort William Henry campaign of the same year. By the terms of surrender, the rangers were disbanded for a year. A new body was enlisted, however, and served with Howe and Abercrombie in 1758. In the following year Rogers was with Amherst, and early in 1760 performed a daring exploit, by passing the French lines, destroying the mission village of Abenaki Indians at St. Francis, and returning amid great difficulties and hardships through the wilderness to the Connecticut River settlements. After this expedition to Detroit in the winter of 1760–61, Rogers remained in the service, and was sent to the Cherokee War in 1761. During Pontiac's conspiracy he was of the relief party, and shortly afterwards retired on half-pay and visited England. There he published his *Journals*, and *A Concise Account of North America*. In 1766, he was appointed commandant at Mackinac (see *post*), and while there was accused of a treasonable plot to betray that

forcements and provisions from Gen. Robert Monckton,[90] in charge of the Western department with headquarters at Fort Pitt, Rogers was to advance to Detroit and the other Western posts, and take them over from their French commandants for the British authority. Rogers left Montreal Sept. 13. Meanwhile Col. Henry Bouquet,[91] upon orders from Monckton, had

post. Tried by court-martial at Montreal, he secured an acquittal, when he visited England a second time, only to be imprisoned for debt. On the outbreak of the Revolution he negotiated with both Americans and English, finally raising a band of Loyalists known as the "Queen's Rangers." These were surprised and badly cut up near Long Island in 1776. By act of the New Hampshire legislature, Rogers was in 1778 banished as a Loyalist. About this time he fled to England, where after living a wild and dissolute life he died about 1800.—Ed.

[90] Brig.-Gen. Robert Monckton, son of an Irish peer, began his military services in 1742 in Flanders. Coming to America in 1750, he was stationed at Halifax, and acted as governor for Nova Scotia from 1754–56. In 1757 he was transferred to the Royal American regiment, and was second in command at the siege of Quebec. The succeeding year he took charge of the Western department, and from 1761–63, with the rank of major-general, was military governor of New York city, during which time he served on the West Indies campaign and captured Martinique. Returning to England, he entered parliament, but refused to serve against the Americans in the Revolution. He died in 1782.—Ed.

[91] Col. Henry Bouquet, born in 1719, was a Swiss soldier of fortune. After serving with distinction in the armies of Sardinia and Holland, he entered (1756) the regiment of Royal Americans with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and came to America. For two years he was stationed in South Carolina, in 1758 being summoned to aid Gen. John Forbes in the latter's march against Fort Pitt. There Bouquet was left in command until the arrival of Monckton in 1760, when he occupied Presqu'isle, afterwards commanding at Fort Pitt until late in 1762. On the news of its siege in 1763, Bouquet undertook a relief expedition, and after a severe battle at Bushy Run spent the winter (1763–64) organizing a punitive expedition into the Indian territory. This was completely successful; after penetrating to the Delaware towns, securing the prisoners, and making a treaty of peace, Bouquet was relieved from his Western service. He was promoted to a brigadiership and sent to Florida (1764), where he died early in 1766.—Ed.



HENRY BOUQUET

From steel engraving in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, iii, p. 121

advanced from Fort Pitt and taken possession of Presqu'isle on July 17, 1760. He found no garrison at this place, and the fort burned, whereupon he rebuilt the fort, which was finished about Oct. 1. Maj. Robert Stewart of the Virginia forces[92] had taken possession at Venango and rebuilt its blockhouse. Rogers reached Presqu'isle Oct. 8, and after a hurried trip to Fort Pitt left for the West Nov. 4, with a company of Royal Americans commanded by Capt. Donald Campbell, together with Capt. George Croghan[93] of the Indian department and a band of friendly Indians, in addition to the rangers. They passed in boats along the south shore of Lake Erie, meeting several parties of Indians with whom they stopped to parley. From Sandusky Rogers despatched Lieut. Dietrich Brehm to the French officer at Detroit, accompanied by Médard Gamelin, a French habitant captured at Niagara, who had taken the British oath of allegiance.[94] After some parleying and ex-

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[92] Robert Stewart was captain of the Virginia regiment, and for gallant conduct at Braddock's defeat (1755) was granted a gratuity and the thanks of the assembly. In 1758 he was made major of his regiment, and the next year was second in command. Desiring to enter the regular army, he secured a commission in the Royal Americans, and rebuilt Fort Venango (1760). The following year he was on the Cherokee campaign. At the close of the war, he went to London to better his fortunes, and in 1768 secured the appointment of comptroller of customs at Jamaica. His health failed, and after two years he was again in London. The last mention of him we have found, is the fact of his being in London in 1774. He was an especial friend of Washington, and corresponded with him at length. See Hamilton, *Letters to Washington*, index.—Ed.

[93] For Croghan see *ante*, p. 58, note 96. Capt. Donald Campbell was a Scotch officer who came to America in 1756 with the 62nd infantry. He secured a captaincy in the Royal Americans in 1759, and was ordered to the Western frontier with Monckton. He remained in command at Detroit during the winter of 1760-61. Superseded by Major Gladwin, he continued as second in command until Pontiac's conspiracy, when he was treacherously seized and murdered by the hostile Indians. See his account of the surrender of Detroit in 1760, in *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, 4th series, ix, pp. 382-384.—Ed.

[94] Lieut. Dietrich Brehm was a German engineer sent to America

change of letters, the detachment entered Detroit Nov. 29, and without opposition raised the British colors over the fort. The following days the militia were disarmed, the habitants took the oath of allegiance, the Indians were conciliated, and the French officers with the garrison sent off Dec. 2, to Philadelphia, under escort of Lieutenant Holmes[95] and thirty rangers, together with fifteen English prisoners released by the neighboring Indians.

Dec. 7, Lieutenant Butler and Ensign Wait of the rangers were sent with twenty men and an Indian interpreter to relieve the French garrison at Forts Miami and Ouiatanon.[96] A detachment was also sent to bring in the French troops from

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with the Royal Americans. He was at the capture of Ticonderoga in 1759, and at the siege of Detroit in 1763. In 1774 he secured his captaincy, and was major in 1783. From 1780–85, he was barrack-master at Quebec. For Brehm's topographical description of his voyage to Detroit in 1760, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 1883, pp. 22–25.

Médard Gamelin was born in Canada in 1733, a nephew of La Jémerais, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 66. Gamelin removed to Detroit in early life and was captain of militia, in that capacity taking aid to Niagara (1759). There he was captured, and having taken the British oath of allegiance was sent to pacify the French habitants, and induce them to accept British rule. Gamelin remained in Detroit, marrying there (1763) Angélique Cicotte. He was prominent in militia circles in later life, and died sometime during the American Revolution.—Ed.

[95] Holmes was a trusted officer in the rangers, in which he seems to have enlisted about 1758. In 1760 he supported Rogers on his raid into Canada. After returning East with the French prisoners, he does not again appear in Western history.—Ed.

[96] These officers of the rangers maintained their places for about a year, when they were superseded by regular officers of the Royal Americans. Butler spoke French well, and seems to have had good success with the Indians—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 61. He relieved the French officer at Miami post, who was probably Godefrey de Linctot; see *ante*, p. 212, note 66. Butler was in New York by the next December.—Ed.

the Shawnee town on the Scioto.[97] The next day Rogers started for Michilimakinac with Montour[98] for interpreter; a rumor had already reached Detroit of the departure of the French garrison from that place.[99] However, the post was not secured at this time, for Rogers and his party were compelled by the forming of ice to go back. Dec. 23, he left Detroit, and returned to Fort Pitt. Captain Campbell, with a detachment of Royal Americans remained in charge of Detroit, while Lieutenant Butler commanded at the Miami fort.

The winter of 1760-61 passed quietly at all the posts. In November, Colonel Bouquet was recalled to Fort Pitt and made

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[97] For the French officer at this place see *ante*, p. 218, note 78. He came in to Fort Pitt in February, ill and with only six men of his detachment. See Colonel Bouquet's letter in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 61, where he is designated "Mr. Artel."—Ed.

[98] Andrew Montour was a noted halfbreed, much employed in the English interest. His mother was captured by the Iroquois during Frontenac's War, and living among the Indians married an Oneida chief. Her son Andrew is first mentioned in 1742 as possessing a European type of countenance. In 1744 he began his career as interpreter for the English, under Conrad Weiser; from then until the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), he was official interpreter for the province of Pennsylvania, and often assisted in other negotiations. He accompanied Croghan to the far West in 1750-51; was at the Logstown treaty of 1752; aided Trent the following year; and served with Washington at Fort Necessity (1754). He accompanied Braddock's forces in 1755, and throughout the war (1755-60) was engaged in various missions to the Iroquois. After accompanying Rogers on the latter's futile attempt to reach Mackinac (1760), he returned to the Susquehanna, was there useful during Pontiac's War, and in 1764 led a raid against the Delawares. He died between 1768 and 1772. His son John was in the American interest during the Revolution. See Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1908), p. 28.—Ed.

[99] Campbell wrote Bouquet, under date of Dec. 11, 1760: "The commandant of Michillimakinac they say is gone with his small Garrison to winter with the Indians for want of Provisions, he only has a few soldiers"—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 47. See preceding document for the origin of this report.—Ed.

head of the Western department in place of Monckton, who had been summoned to New York. The principal incidents at the posts were frequent conferences with the Indians concerning English prisoners, some hundreds of whom were yet in the hands of the savages; and the arrival and departure of traders, who, seeking licenses from the military officers, were soon on their way to the tribesmen whose custom they had so long desired. Nothing more was now heard from Mackinac and the far Western posts, save that two tribes came to Detroit in December in a starving condition for want of ammunition. The change of political ownership was, however, slowly creating distrust and dissatisfaction. The methods of English traders were not as conciliatory as those of the French, although their prices were often more satisfactory; the British officers were less experienced than their predecessors in dealing with the red men; and the British governmental policy was parsimonious in the matter of Indian presents.

In June Capt. Donald Campbell discovered at Detroit a considerable plot to surprise the posts and capture the garrisons. This conspiracy appeared to emanate from the Seneca, but the Shawnee and Delawares readily entered therein, whereas the nations at Detroit proved adverse. Prompt measures in removing the traders' stores at Sandusky, and warning all the Ohio posts by runners, broke up the incipient revolt.[1]

It was now deemed advisable to send reinforcements to the upper country. The British superintendent of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson,[2] deemed it wise to hold a treaty at De-

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[1] For the documents concerning this conspiracy, see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 78, 81–90.—Ed.

[2] Sir William Johnson was a native of Ireland (1715). Coming to America at an early age, he settled in the Mohawk valley, and having been adopted by the Iroquois became the most noted and successful Indian agent in the British colonies. During the French and Indian War he maintained the Eastern Iroquois in the English interests. Commander at the battle of Lake George (1755), he was for his success made baronet and awarded a large land grant. Throughout the war he was active in military operations and secured the surrender in

troit. The troops there were a detachment of the Royal American (or Sixtieth) infantry, and two companies of Gage's light infantry (or Eightieth), commanded by Maj. Henry Gladwin.[3]]

1761: CONFERENCE AT DETROIT

[Extracts from the diary of Sir William Johnson of his journey to Detroit, July 4–Oct. 30, 1761. Reprinted from William L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1865), ii, appendix iv, pp. 429–477.]

Wednesday [August] 19th. At four o'clock embarked [at Niagara] with the Royal American party, and the Yorkers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogden;[4] the Royal Ameri-

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1759 of Fort Niagara. The succeeding years of his life were occupied with Indian negotiations. This journey to Detroit, in the summer of 1761, was the longest as well as one of the most important journeys he undertook. His great success at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768) was of value to the colonists. He died at his home "Johnson Hall," in 1774.—Ed.

[3] Henry Gladwin came to America as lieutenant in the 48th regiment (1755) and was wounded at Braddock's defeat the same year. Two years later he was transferred to the 80th, in which he was captain, being again wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758. The next year he was promoted to a majorship, being one of Amherst's trusted officers, and in garrison at Montreal, 1760–61. His visit to Detroit (1761) was brief. The next year he relieved Campbell as commander at that post and sustained the siege of Pontiac and his allies. Having been relieved, he returned to England (1764) and finally attained the rank of major-general (1782), dying at his seat in Derbyshire, June 22, 1791.—Ed.

[4] According to a letter of Bouquet, Johnson took with him sixty privates of the Royal Americans from the garrison at Niagara. Major Gladwin, with a detachment of the 80th infantry, was ten days in advance of Sir William—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 108.

Lieutenant Ogden was probably in the Indian service, as his name does not appear in the New York provincial lists. He was sent back soon after reaching Detroit; see *post*. An officer of this name was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768).—Ed.

cans, commanded by Ensigns Slosser and Holmes,[5] with four battoes, and the former with eight battoes and one birch canoe, with the Mohawks, &c., making in all thirteen boats. Mr. Gambling sent me word he would be here to-morrow morning in order to accompany me.[6]

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Thursday [Sept.] 3d. At 4 o'clock I arose, and wrote Mr. Croghan a few lines by Mr. Gambling's canoe, to meet me about six miles this side of the fort with horses. I take Mr. Gambling in my boat. Fine morning, but cold, and the wind right ahead. Embarked at 7 o'clock and on our way passed several fine islands and drowned meadows. About twelve, came to the house of Mr. Jarves of the militia, which is the best house I have seen in the neighborhood.[7] Eat some melon there, and set

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[5] Francis Schlosser, son of the well-known Captain Joseph Schlosser, who built (1761) the fort on the Niagara frontier, entered the army as ensign of the Royal Americans in 1759. He was quite young, for while in command of Fort St. Josephs he was designated as "a boy." Considerable complaint of his conduct at that post is found—*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 139, 169. May 25, 1763, he was captured by hostile Indians, kept prisoner for nearly a month, and on June 14 exchanged at Detroit. Nothing further is known of his career. His father died at Niagara after 1772.

Robert Holmes joined the army as ensign in December, 1760. He arrived at Niagara July 12, and upon reaching Detroit was taken very ill. Upon his recovery, he was sent to relieve Lieutenant Butler of the rangers, at Fort Miami. There he was in command for about eighteen months. In March, 1763, he notified Gladwin of the plot among the Indians, but fell a victim thereto on May 27.—Ed.

[6] Johnson found Gamelin (see *ante*, p. 226, note 94) at Niagara, whence he had fled from Detroit upon a warning that that post was to be destroyed. He told Johnson that he would willingly return with him.—Ed.

[7] Probably a misprint for Janis. Nicolas François Janis was born in Quebec in 1720; some time before his twenty-fifth year he emigrated to Detroit, where in 1745 he married Thérèse Meloche. A stonemason by trade, he assisted in building the Huron mission. In 1751 he rented the mission-farm; for the terms of this lease see *Jesuit Relations*, lxx, pp. 69-71.—Ed.

off for Detroit which is but a league from said house. Opposite to the Huron Town, and Pottawattamie village, saw Mr. Croghan and St. Martin, the interpreter, with horses expecting us.[8] On coming farther, the Indian towns drew out and began to fire with cannon and small arms, which I returned by three volleys from the Royal American detachment; then went on shore and rode to town through a number of the settlements. All along the road was met by Indians, and near the town, by the inhabitants, traders, &c. When I came to the verge of the fort, the cannon thereof were fired, and the officers of the garrison with those of Gage's Light Infantry received me, and brought me to see my quarters, which is the house of the late commandant Mr. Belestre, the best in the place. After having given directions for my baggage to be brought there, went to Campbell's quarters, where his officers and several of the French gentlemen were introduced to me. Hearing Major Gladwin was very ill, went with Captain Campbell to see him, and found him very ill.[9] Then returned to my quarters, and supped that evening with Captain Campbell.

Friday 4th. Fine weather. I was all the forenoon taken up with receiving visits and compliments from the different nations of Indians, that came here to meet me, to whom I gave pipes, tobacco, and some drink. Dined with Captain Campbell, whom I desired to order a *feu de joie* on the great success of his Majesty's arms in the reduction of Belle Isle, and destroying so many villages of the Cherokees,[10] which was done

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[8] Jacques Baudry *dit* St. Martin was born in Quebec in 1733. Coming to Detroit in his youth, he married (1760) Marianne Navarre. He was official interpreter for the Huron before the British advent, and the latter continued his employment in the same capacity. During Pontiac's conspiracy he was much distrusted both by the Indians and British. Dying about 1768, he left a considerable estate, a portion of which later fell into Gov. Lewis Cass's possession.—Ed.

[9] Major Gladwin's illness was probably the cause of his return to the East in the autumn of 1761, leaving Captain Campbell in command until Aug. 23, 1762.—Ed.

[10] Belle Isle, a large French island off the Bay of Quiberon, was besieged in April, 1761, by a British fleet under Admiral Augustus Keppel,

about 7 o'clock in the evening, having first acquainted all the Indians with the news, and the reason of firing; which they seemed greatly pleased at. The Ottawas and several other nations sent me word they would wait on me next morning to pay their respects. This afternoon, Captain Campbell went with me to Major Gladwin's quarters, and there we settled about garrisoning the several posts in the best manner we possibly could, considering the bad situation of affairs, viz; the lateness of the season, the badness of the boats, and above all the scarcity of provisions and ammunition, which Captain Campbell and Major Gladwin reported to me to be the case, the latter having lost all of his ammunition and a great part of his provisions in coming here. These circumstances, well weighed and considered, we unanimously agreed to send back [blank] men of Gage's [light infantry][11] to Niagara, for pro-

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and captured by a landing similar in character to that at the Plains of Abraham.

The Cherokee, a large and powerful tribe of Southwestern Indians, had long been in the English interest; but a detachment returning from Forbes's campaign (1758) had been annoyed by the German settlers of the Shenandoah, and there was thereafter a constant feud between the southwestern borderers and these tribesmen. The Cherokee chiefs thereupon sought the governor of Louisiana, while on a visit to Mobile, and made an alliance with the French. For two years the horrors of Indian warfare desolated the frontier, Fort Loudoun (near the site of Knoxville, Tenn.) was captured in 1760, and the following year a large body of regulars under command of Col James Grant penetrated the hostile territory. On June 7, 1761, a pitched battle was fought, in which the Indians were signally defeated. The British army then proceeded to the native towns and destroyed nearly all of those belonging to the Middle Cherokee, whereupon the baffled tribesmen sought peace, which was signed July 7, 1761.—Ed.

[11] Gage's light infantry, officially known as the 80th foot, was enrolled in America during the summer of 1758, being intended by its proposer, Lord Howe, to serve for scouting and skirmishing. The uniform was a simple brown coat without skirts, and the men were trained in woodcraft. Their place in the line of advance at Ticonderoga (July, 1758) was directly behind that of Roger's rangers.

visions, as the vessels bringing provisions here are very precarious. The remainder to proceed with a garrison of an officer and thirty men for the fort of Missillimackinac and ten months' provisions; also an officer and fifteen men for St. Joseph; an officer and fifteen men for Warraghtenhook [Ouiatanon], with as much provision as can possibly be spared; and an officer and fifteen men to relieve the Rangers at the Miami's post immediately;—Captain Campbell and Bellfore[12] to settle and order the proper number of boats necessary for said service, and make an exact calculation of the quantity of provisions for said garrisons to-morrow morning, so that they may get off as soon as possible. I am greatly distressed for the want of provisions for the Indians, having received none from Fort Pitt as I ex-

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It will thus be seen that the three regiments of whom detachments were ordered to the Western posts—the rangers, the Royal Americans, and the light infantry—were all enlisted in America, though as a rule serving under British or European officers.—Ed.

[12] Capt. Henry Balfour was a Scotchman, possibly identical with the person known in later life as the "Laird of Dunbog." He entered the 1st (or Royal) regiment of foot as lieutenant, in 1755. In 1758 he came with his regiment to America, and served first at the siege of Louisburg (1758). Thence his command was transferred to the army of Amherst, on the Lake Champlain frontier (1759). The following winter, while in quarters in New York, Balfour was promoted to a captaincy in Gage's light infantry. In that capacity he led his detachment to the West, with Maj. Henry Gladwin of the 60th. Balfour was detached for the tour of the lake posts, and left a garrison at each. Arriving at Detroit, via St. Josephs, Nov. 22, 1761, he attempted to return by boat to Niagara. Buffeted by autumn winds the detachment put in at Sandusky; thence they determined to march by land to Pittsburgh. They found the floating ice of Beaver Creek impossible of passage, and Bouquet sent out a force of woodsmen to bring them into Fort Pitt, where they arrived Dec. 28. Balfour proceeded on to New York, where he found that he had been re-transferred (October 7) to his old regiment, as captain. In the spring of 1762, this command sailed upon the West Indies expedition. At the siege of Havana, Captain Balfour was wounded. The following year the regiment was ordered home. In 1772 Balfour was on garrison duty at Minorca, but by 1777 his name had disappeared from the British army lists.—Ed.

pected; wherefore am obliged, at a very great expense, to purchase cattle and what I can get here.

Saturday 5th. A very wet morning; cleared up about 10 o'clock. This day I wrote to Ferrall Wade, which is to go by Lieutenant Ogden. Had [to dine with me] Captains Campbell, Bellfore, McCloud,[13] eight or ten other officers, and Colonel Du Quesne and Major La Mott, his brother, who were my prisoners at Niagara.[14] While the company were drinking, two of the head men of the Hurons came in to acquaint me that the women of their nation were all come to see me and bid me welcome here to their country. On which they were introduced by Mr. Croghan, to the number of fifty, old and young. After saluting them, I ordered them a glass of wine and some biscuit, and drank their healths. They then told me, they had brought me some corn, the produce of their land, which they begged I would accept of. In return I ordered them a beef for their nation, which pleased them much. At parting they shook hands again, and bid farewell;—so ended their visit. In the morning all the principal inhabitants of Detroit, with their priest, came to pay their respects and desire protection. I re-

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[13] Ferrall Wade appears to have been Sir William's business agent. Captain Norman McLeod joined the 80th infantry as lieutenant, in 1757. Three years later he was promoted to a captaincy, being stationed at Niagara under Maj. William Walters.—Ed.

[14] These persons were brothers of the Sieurs Dagneau Douville, noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 321, 322.

Louis César Dagneau Douville, Sieur de Quindre, was born in 1704, and as early as 1736 was at Detroit, where he married Marie Anne Picoté de Bellestre, sister of the last commandant. Sieur de Quindre was colonel of the Detroit militia, and in that capacity was captured at Niagara in 1759. He was of aid to the English in the Pontiac troubles (1763-64), and died at Detroit (1767), leaving numerous descendants; one of his sons entered the British army.

Guillaume Dagneau Douville, Sieur de la Mothe, was born in 1706, and married at Montreal. He was in Detroit by 1750. Probably it was his son who, as captain in the Indian department, was captured by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes (1779), and imprisoned in Virginia in company with Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton.—Ed.

turned the compliment, and gave them assurances of his Majesty's protection, while they continued to behave as good subjects. Then gave them rusk and shrub in plenty, which they made very good use of, and went away extremely well pleased—their priest at their head.[15]

Sunday 6th. A very fine morning. This day I am to dine with Captain Campbell, who is also to give the ladies a ball, that I may see them. They assembled at 8 o'clock at night, to the number of about twenty. I opened the ball with Mademoiselle Curie—a fine girl.[16] We danced until five o'clock next morning. This day the Ottawas, by Mr. La Bute, interpreter,[17] made me a speech, chiefly on the begging order, and to

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[15] This priest was Simplicus Bocquet (usually called Père Simple), a Recollect friar who was parish priest for Ste. Anne du Detroit from 1754–84. During the American Revolution he tried to ameliorate the condition of the captives brought to Detroit, and was a worthy, kind-hearted man.—Ed.

[16] This must have been Marie Catherine Cuillerier *dit* Trotier de Beaubien, whose grandmother married, as her second husband, the father of Sieur de Bellestre, last commandant of Detroit. The children of her first husband, Jean Cuillerier, accompanied her to Detroit, and from their mother's maiden name were frequently known as Beaubien. Of these, Jean Baptiste married at Detroit (1742) Marie Anne Lothman de Barrois. The eldest daughter of this couple, Marie Catharine, was born in 1743, and would thus have been eighteen at the time of Sir William's visit. She married (1771) Jacques Parant, who was still living in 1824. Mademoiselle Cuillerier *dit* Beaubien was the aunt of Col. Jean Baptiste and Marc Beaubien, prominent in the early history of Chicago.—Ed.

[17] Pierre Chesne *dit* La Butte was born in Montreal in 1698. In 1717 he came to Detroit and became one of the principal merchants of the place, likewise being churchwarden and for many years official interpreter for the Ottawa. In 1760 he gave a considerable donation to the church of Ste. Anne. He acted as go-between in the negotiations that took place with Pontiac in 1763, and was suspected by some of the English, but probably unjustly, for Gladwin trusted him throughout the entire siege. His large house and garden on the north side of the fort were destroyed by the English, as affording a shelter to the besiegers. La Butte lived at Detroit until 1774.—Ed.

support the French interpreters. Answered them with a belt of wampum.

Monday 7th. A fine morning. Montour not yet come, nor the Mohawks. I shall send the interpreters this day to desire that all the nations may be ready to attend the meeting to-morrow, or next day at farthest. The Light Infantry and Royal Americans are making ready to set off to-morrow, or next day at farthest. I had all the Delawares, Shawanese, Six Nations, and Huron chiefs from the south side of the lakes this afternoon, when I told them I should speak to all on Wednesday, when I desired that they and all the other nations would be ready to attend. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum, for their whole number, and parted very friendly.

Tuesday 8th, 1761. Fine morning. This day am about finishing what I have to do of the speech, which I am going to make to-morrow to all the nations assembled here. Also making out instructions and orders for the officers going to command at Missillimackinac, St. Joseph, Miamis, &c. On examining the goods intended for the present, many are found rotten and ruined by the badness of the boats, for want of a sufficient number of oil cloths, &c.; so that I shall be obliged to replace them, and add more goods to the present, the number of Indians being very great. In the afternoon, I had the two interpreters at my quarters, when I got Mr. Williams, of the light infantry,[18] to tell them in French what I intended to say, which he did very distinctly.

Wednesday 9th. Fine morning, but windy. I ordered all the seats to be out of doors for the meeting, there being no house here half large enough to meet in. Received an account this morning of the loss of one of my store boats which Montour was in.

I ordered two cannon to be fired at 10 o'clock, as a signal for them all to assemble. This day, the Light Infantry and

[18] Probably this was Dr. Joseph Williams, surgeon of the 80th infantry. He was commissioned March 18, 1758, being drowned in Lake Erie on the night of Nov. 7, 1763, while conveying succor from Niagara to the beleaguered garrison at Detroit.—Ed.

Royal Americans, which are to garrison the forts at Missillimackinac, La Baye and St. Joseph, set off with ten months' provisions. I gave Mr. Lastly for Missillimackinac,[19] about fifty pounds of tobacco out of my present. Nickus, of Canajoharie, arrived this morning, and left Montour and Preston,[20]

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[19] Lieut. William Leslie (he spells the name Leslye) entered the army (1758) as ensign of the 60th. May 30, 1759, he was promoted to a lieutenancy. Serving with Amherst on the campaigns of 1759–60, he was detached with Robert Rogers to advance to Detroit and take possession of the country. It was Leslie, who, sent in advance, received the first surrender from the French. In April, 1761, Campbell sent Leslie to Niagara for provisions, from which expedition he returned in May. Leaving Detroit Sept. 9, 1761, the detachment arrived at Mackinac Sept. 28, just in time to rescue Alexander Henry from a band of Indians bent on plundering and killing him. Leslie was left in command (Oct. 1) with a small garrison of twenty-eight men. In 1762 he requested to be "relieved from this disagreeable Station" (*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 166), and during that same autumn the post was reinforced by Capt. George Ethrington, Leslie remaining as second in command. After having been saved from massacre in Pontiac's conspiracy (1763), Leslie went to Montreal. The following year, the 60th regiment was largely reduced, and Leslie was transferred to the 44th, with the same rank. The latter regiment was stationed in Canada until the American Revolution. At the beginning of that struggle we find Leslie entering the 46th infantry, which was sent to America in 1776. After two years his name is dropped from the army lists, so that he either retired or, more probably, was killed in some campaign in America; his regiment took part in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and served during the descent on the Rhode Island coast.—Ed.

[20] Nickus Hance, whose Indian name was Taicarihogo, was a Canajoharie sachem of importance, who had taken part in the former French war, and been a captive in Canada (1747–49). After his exchange, Governor Clinton rewarded him (1751) for his fidelity. He was with Johnson at the battle of Lake George (1755), on which occasion he lost a son. He was supposed to have been step-father to Joseph Brant.

William Preston was formerly a lieutenant in the 44th infantry. He seems to have resigned in 1760, and spent the succeeding winter with the Seneca at Genesee. He joined Johnson on the latter's route to Niagara.—Ed.

with my small boat, yesterday, at the entrance of this river. What they had of my stores in their boat is all lost and ruined, having been, he says, cast away. About 10 o'clock, the Indians were all met, when I went there with Captain Campbell and all his officers, the officers of the Light Infantry, all the merchants and principal people of the town. Mr. Croghan, Lieut. Johnson,[21] Mr. Breme, Mr. Mya from Pittsborough, Mr. Bostwick from Missillimackinac,[22] Mr. [La] Bute and St. Martin, Interpreters, the former to the Ottawas, the latter to the Hurons,

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[21] Guy Johnson was a nephew of Sir William. Born in Ireland in 1740, he came early to America, for the purpose of joining his uncle. In 1759 he was made lieutenant in the New York provincial troops. He afterwards married a daughter of Sir William, and upon the latter's death (1774) succeeded him in his office of superintendent of Indian affairs. A Loyalist during the Revolution, in 1776 he abandoned New York for Canada, whence he urged his Indian allies against the New York frontier. His estates were confiscated, and after 1783 he retired to London, where he died in 1788.—Ed.

[22] For Breme see Dietrich Brehm, *ante*, p. 225, note 94.

Lieut. Elias Meyer (Mya) joined the Royal Americans in that capacity in 1756. He served with Bouquet, and was by him sent (Aug. 13, 1761) to build a fort at Sandusky. He returned on or about Sept. 1 to Detroit for supplies and workmen, but left for Sandusky on the 17th. Later, Johnson visited him at this place, where he remained in garrison until the spring of 1762. Being then promoted (April 27) to a captain-lieutenancy, he was ordered down to Quebec. When the regiment was reduced after the Peace of Paris (1763), he lost his commission, and left the army.

Henry Bostwick was the first English trader to go to Mackinac after the capitulation of Montreal. No doubt he had found it dangerous to remain, as did Alexander Henry at this time, and retired to Detroit. He probably returned with the troops, and remained in the vicinity until captured by the Chippewa, June, 1763. The Ottawa having secured possession of his person carried him to Montreal for a ransom. Bostwick was soon back in Mackinac, however, where in 1770 he entered a company to exploit the copper mines of Lake Superior. In 1780 he petitioned the governor against the "new set of men" (traders that were opposing the measures of the older traders). In 1781 he signed the treaty for the purchase of the island of Mackinac, to which no doubt he removed with the garrison.—Ed.

Printup only as spectator.[23] After the speech was delivered, I arose, and with the gentlemen went to dinner at my quarters, where, about 5 o'clock, the Hurons, Ottawas, &c., came to the amount of thirty chiefs, to let me know they understood the Indians from the south side of Lake Erie were determined, to return, having heard what I had to say; and that, therefore, they would now, while said Indians were here, let me know how that war-belt was sent here. I thanked them for their honesty and readiness, but told them it was better to have it mentioned in public, when I received an answer from all the nations. To this they agreed, and said that some chiefs of each nation might take to drinking, they would be glad to answer on the morrow; and desired two guns might be fired, as on this day, whereby they might all assemble and finish;—to which I readily agreed, and promised them that it should be done accordingly. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and some liquor, —then parted.

Thursday 10th. Fine weather. My quarters full of Indians of different nations about little affairs of their own, which I settled. After that, a very honest Seneca Indian came and told me what he had heard among his relations living here, which he delivered very ingenuously, and seemed to me to be very just. No account yet of Montour or the boat's crew. This day I wrote by Captain McCloud to Major Walters[24] for ammunition, provisons, and an officer, sergeant and ten men for the garrisoning one of the posts, viz: Miamis or Miamis

[23] William Printup had long served Sir William as interpreter, being employed in that capacity from 1753 to the close of the war. In 1756, at the request of the Onondaga, he went to live among them as English agent and smith. Descendants of his lived upon the Tuscarora reservation in the nineteenth century.—Ed.

[24] Maj. William Walters was a veteran in the British service, having been captain in the 45th in 1747. In 1760 he was made major of the Royal Americans and sent to command at Niagara where he remained until transferred (June, 1762) to his old regiment Returning to England, he retired in 1768 on half-pay, and died at his home in Lyme, March 7, 1789, aged ninety-three years.—Ed.

Wawiaghtanook.[25] Yesterday Captain Balfour with one hundred and twenty of Gage's [light infantry], set off with the Royal Americans for Missillimackinac, &c. I wrote the general [Amherst] this day by Captain McCloud. In the afternoon, the Indians all assembled, and gave their answer to my speech made the day before, which was very satisfactory. After all was over, the White Mingo[26] came to my quarters where all the gentlemen were with me, and desired I would return to the meeting, as he and the Six Nations from Ohio had something to say in answer to what the Hurons had charged them with. We all returned to the council, where we found every nation by themselves. Then Kaiaghshota,[27] a Seneca chief,

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[25] Apparently there had been no garrison at Ouiatanon (Wawiaghtanook) during 1760 and 1761. Rogers planned to send thither Ensign Wait of the rangers in 1760, but a letter of Campbell's (*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 162) would indicate that the British did not take possession until November, 1761. Upon Johnson's request, Major Walters sent from Niagara Lieut. Edward Jenkins, who had entered the Royal Americans as ensign in 1756. He set off from Detroit for Ouiatanon, Nov. 6, 1761, and remained there in garrison until captured, June 1, 1763. In 1764 he succeeded in escaping, and ultimately reached Mobile, whence he returned to New York. His regiment being reduced, he was not again in military employment until May, 1771, when he was commissioned in the 65th foot, a position held until 1775.—Ed.

[26] White Mingo was a Seneca, whose home was on the Allegheny not far above Pittsburgh. He took part in the attacks on the forts in 1763, and signed Bouquet's treaty of 1764. Thence he maintained peaceful relations with his white neighbors. For his part in the Treaty of 1775, see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, index. He died before 1777.—Ed.

[27] Kaiaghshota (Guyashusta, Kiasola) was one of the most prominent Seneca chiefs of this period. He was sachem for the Western Seneca, who lived upon the Allegheny, and his home was a few miles above Pittsburgh. He seems to have been favorable to the English, since he accompanied Washington's embassy in 1753, and was rewarded by Johnson for an embassy undertaken in 1759. However, during the period of French ascendency (1754–58) on the upper Ohio, he acted in their favor, and his relation to the plot of 1761, as here narrated by Johnson, shows his secret antipathy to British rule. In 1763 he

and one who accompanied the two messengers who came herewith the war axe to the Hurons, stood up, and with great oratory and resolution, endeavored to clear himself of the imputations laid to his charge, when one of the Hurons named Adariaghta, the chief warrior of the nation, confronted him and the White Mingo, and discoverd everything which had passed. Upon which, the White Mingo told them that they had come several times to him at Ohio, and pressed him and others living there to fall upon the English, which he as often refused. After a great deal of altercation I got up, and desired that they would not go to too great lengths, being now joined in stricter friendship and alliance then ever. Left them liquor and broke up the meeting, telling them I intended next day delivering them some goods, &c., which I had brought for their use, and desired they would be punctual as soon as the cannon was fired. They thanked me, and promised they would be ready to attend — parted. Supped with Cole and went to bed early.

Friday 11th. Fine morning. At 6 o'clock, Mr. Croghan set about cutting up the present, and making proper divisions

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was an arch-plotter with Pontiac, and that uprising is occasionally spoken of as "Guyashusta's War." After Bouquet's punitive expedition, this chief signed the treaty of 1764, and appears to have faithfully kept it. In 1766 Johnson rewarded him with a medal, and frequently employed him in embassies to Western Indians. In the Dunmore troubles of 1774, Guyashusta's influence was efficacious as a peacemaker, and it was exerted in the same direction at the Pittsburgh treaty of 1773 (see *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 108–126). In 1777 he attended the English conference at Oswego, and although adverse to taking up the hatchet against the Americans was finally overruled, and joined in the Oriskany campaign, although in no other battles of that time. When Brodhead raided the upper Allegheny (1779), Guyashusta removed to the neighborhood of Niagara, returning later to the site of Meadville. He was one of the chief instigators of the attack on Hannastown (1782), but after the peace of 1783 returned to his old home near Pittsburgh, and was on friendly terms with its early settlers. He finally died at Cornplanter's village in the summer of 1795. Much of the foregoing information was secured by Dr. Draper in interviews with Guyashusta's son and nephew. See Draper MSS., 4S.—Ed.

thereof for the several nations. This morning, I gave Baby's daughter a present, her father being principal sachem of the Hurons.[28] Went to the meeting about 12 o'clock, where the Indians were all assembled to the number of five hundred and odd, when the Delawares and Shawanese made a speech. After that, I made a reply to what all the nations had answered yesterday, as [will appear] by records. Then gave them the present, divided in nine parts. After that went to dinner; and after dinner, about forty Chippewas, who had just arrived, came to see me, and made a friendly speech with a string of wampum, assuring me of their firm resolution of abiding by us, and complying with everything proposed by me, and agreed to by the rest. Gave them pipes, tobacco, and rum; then they departed. This day I ordered to be laid aside a good many things for the Huron sachems, Delawares, Shawanese, &c., and am to speak to them separately my opinion and advice.

Saturday 12th. Very fine weather and warm. I had meetings with the several nations of Ottawas, Shaganoos [Shawnee], Chippewas, &c., who made many demands and requests for their several nations, and gave the strongest assurances of being happy in what I said, and of their adhering inviolably to the promises and engagements entered into here, as did the Delawares, Shawanese, &c. by belts and strings. I then sent for the White Mingo alias Kanaghragait, and the Seneca who accompanied Tahaiadoris here with the Seneca's message, named Kaiaghshota, to whom I said a great deal concerning the late design of the Indians in their quarter; set forth the madness of it, and desired them, by a large string of wampum, to reform and repent, which they assured me they and all their

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[28] The principal chief of the Detroit Huron was generally known by the title of Sastaretsy; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 279. Probably this was the chieftain who succeeded to that title in 1747, and who had taken in exchange the name of Col. Duperon Baby, a well-known Detroit habitant. Baby, the Indian, was desirous of remaining neutral in Pontiac's conspiracy, but was forced into hostilities by the Ottawa. His son was in 1775 sent to Virginia to be educated; see *Rev. on the Upper Ohio*, p. 126.—Ed.

people, would pay the strictest observance to; then condoled the Seneca who was killed by our troops stealing horses, with two black strouds, two shirts, and two pairs of stockings; gave them their liquor, I promised, and parted. This morning four of the principal ladies of the town came to wait on me. I treated them with rusk and cordial. After sitting an hour, they went away. This day, I gave private presents to chiefs of sundry nations. At 9 o'clock at night a York officer arrived at my quarters, express from Niagara in sixteen days, with letters from General Amherst, and the belt, which the Senecas sent here, to desire the Hurons, &c., to join against the English.

Sunday 13th. Very fine weather. I had a meeting with the Chippewa nation at my quarters, who spoke with two large bunches of wampum, giving me the strongest assurances imaginable of their resolution to live in the strictest friendship, and that the speeches I had made them, and the manner I had treated them and all the nations here, convinced them that I was their friend. They then said my presence had made the sun and sky bright and clear, the earth smooth and level, the roads all pleasant, and the lakes placid, and begged I would continue in the same friendly disposition toward them, and they would be a happy people. They then prayed to have a plentiful and fair trade, which I promised them; gave them beef, liquor &c., and parted very happy and well pleased. At 10 o'clock Captain Campbell came to introduce some of the town ladies to me at my quarters, whom I received and treated with cakes, wine and cordial. Dined at Campbell's. In the evening, several Indians came to my quarters to bid me farewell.

Monday 14th. Fine weather. This day I am to have all the principal inhabitants to dine with me; also Captain Campbell to have a meeting with the Hurons, and give their chiefs a private present; also to settle with the two French interpreters and pay them. I took a ride before dinner up toward the Lake St. Clair. The road runs along the river side, which is all settled thickly nine miles. A very pleasant place in summer, but at other seasons too low and marshy. The French

gentlemen and the two priests who dined with us got very merry. Invited them all to a ball to-morrow night, which I am to give to the ladies.

Tuesday 15th. Fine weather. This day settled all accounts. Paid La Bute one hundred dollars for interpreting all the time for Captain Campbell; to St. Martin one hundred dollars for the same; to Doctor Anthony * * * .[29] I had the three Huron interpreters here at my lodging, and Aaron, also St. Martin, when I thanked them kindly for their conduct in the affair of the war-belt offered by the Six Nations' deputies this summer; strongly recommended to them to give a steady and uniform adherence to all the advice I had given them; and told them I looked upon them as the head of the Ottawa Confederacy. Having lighted a council-fire, I desired they would take good care to keep it in good order, and not neglect their friends and allies, as the Six Nations have done, notwithstanding all my admonitions. Cautioned them against evil minded people or their wicked schemes; laid before them the danger of quarreling with the English; all which they thanked me for, and promised to pay the strictest attention to all I said. They then let me know that the Senecas had given another war-belt to the Shawanese, who told them they would act as the Hurons had done. They then let me know that they would, on the morrow, return an answer to the speech of the Mohawks, and for that end, desired a gun to be fired in order to assemble the Ottawas, Pottawattamies, &c., to the meeting.

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[29] At this point the MS. is illegible. The name should be Anthon, not Anthony. Dr. George Christian Anthon was German-born (1734) and studied medicine in his native land. Coming to America in 1757, he was appointed assistant military surgeon, and in 1760 was sent with Rogers to Detroit. There he was post-surgeon until 1764, when he returned with Gladwin. The following year he accompanied George Croghan on his perilous journey down the Ohio, being imprisoned and carried with him to Detroit. There released, he settled down as post-surgeon and married (1770) into the Navarre family. In 1786 he removed to New York and died there in 1815, leaving several eminent sons.—Ed.

Then ordered up a very good private present, and dismissed them. In the evening, the ladies and gentlemen all assembled at my quarters, danced the whole night until 7 o'clock in the morning, when all parted very pleased and happy. I promised to write Mademoiselle Curie as soon as possible my sentiments; there never was so brilliant an assembly here before.

Wednesday 16th. Still fair weather, wind contrary for us. I ordered all the baggage to be packed up, and everything ready to embark to-morrow. About eleven, the Huron chiefs arrived, and acquainted me that they waited for the other nations, who, when assembled, would acquaint me, and come to my quarters. I am to dine this day with Captain Campbell. About one o'clock, the Hurons, Ottawas, Pottawattamies, Chippewas, &c., met at my quarters, and made several speeches, large and full of gratitude, as by the minutes of this day's conference will appear. They also answered to the Mohawk belts, with which they had spoken to all the nations the tenth inst; and delivered them a calumet to be kept and smoked out of at our council at the Mohawk's;—the smoke of which will reach the most distant nations. This calumet was delivered by the Chippewas, and a bunch of green painted wampum to me, wherewith to dispel all clouds, and to clear all about us. I gave out private presents to the four chiefs of the Hurons, which were very considerable, and pleased them much. Nickus, the Mohawk, desired I would take home the pipe, belts, and strings, and deliver them to the sachems of the two Mohawk castles.

Thursday 17th. I counted out, and delivered to Mr. Croghan some silver works, viz; one hundred and fifty ear-bobs, two hundred brooches or breast buckles, and ninety large crosses of silver, to send to Ensign Gorrel of the Royal Americans,[30] posted at La Bay on Lake Michigan, in order to pur-

[30] James Gorrell was a native of Maryland, who joined the Royal Americans as ensign in 1759. In the autumn of the following year he went out with Rogers and Campbell to Detroit, and the next spring was sent back to Niagara for provisions, returning to his post June 20, 1761. Chosen to command at La Baye, he left with Captain Balfour September 10, and reaching the old French fort in Wisconsin on

chase therewith some curious skins and furs for General Amherst and myself. Also gave Mr. Croghan some silver works as a present for himself to the amount of about forty pounds,—he having given me many presents of Indian kind. This day I am to give an answer to what the Indians said yesterday, and to set off, if I can, after visiting Major Gladwin, Irwin,[31] &c.

I set off about 4 o'clock in my boat, when the guns of the fort were fired. Arrived at the Huron castle soon, where the Indians were drawn up and saluted. Encamped here; visited the Priest Pierre Pottie;[32] took a ride with Captain Jarvis [Janis] in his chair; supped with St. Martin, the Jesuit, La

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Oct. 12 took possession for the British king. While at his post, he succeeded to a lieutenancy March 2, 1762. Left with a small detachment in the midst of a large body of Indians, by tact and address Gorrell so won their good will that the Green Bay post was saved from the concerted attack of the Indians in June, 1763, and he was able to assist in the rescue of the imprisoned Mackinac officers. Released from native surveillance, Gorrell arrived at Montreal Aug. 13, 1763. His journal, published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 24–48, is a prime source for the beginning of the English regime in Wisconsin. The 60th foot, to which Gorrell belonged, was reduced in 1763, and Gorrell's commission rescinded. According to Draper's introduction to his journal, he accompanied Major Wilkins in the autumn of that same year on the disastrous expedition that failed to reach Detroit. In 1765 he was in New York (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 237–239), and in 1767 was commissioned lieutenant of the 70th infantry, stationed in the West Indies. There he remained until 1770, when his name disappears from the British army list. Probably he died in the Caribbee Islands, for the regiment was much reduced there by illness.—Ed.

[31] Lieut. William Irwin was commissioned ensign of the 80th in 1757, and lieutenant in 1759. He was in garrison at Niagara in the spring of 1761, and accompanied Sir William's party to Detroit.—Ed.

[32] Father Pierre Potier (born 1708) was a Belgium Jesuit, entering that order in 1729 and coming to Canada in 1743. After a year spent at the mission village, learning the Huron language, he came to the Huron mission of Detroit (on the site of Sandwich, Ont.), where he became superior and sole priest of the mission until his death in 1781. He was a considerable linguist, and his influence was exerted in favor of peace and harmony.—Ed.

Bute, &c., and went to the Hurons' council room, where they had everything in good order and three fires burning. I here delivered them an answer to what they had said the day before, as will appear by the minutes of this day. Then broke up.

Friday 18th. Fine cool morning. As my store boat did not come up last night, I dispatched my own battoe to Detroit in order to help and hurry them down here, so as to set off, having finished everything. Captain Jarvis is to have three chairs here this morning, for us to ride to the end of the settlement, being about six miles. This is a beautiful situation, and a dry, healthy place. At 9 o'clock, the chiefs of the Hurons met at my tent and returned an answer to all I said last night, in the most friendly manner, as will appear by the minutes of this day in the records. I then gave them twenty kettles full of tobacco, about fifty damaged blankets, twenty pounds of powder and silver works, which greatly pleased them all. Captain Campbell, several officers of the Light Infantry, French and traders, came over to take leave of me and were present at the meeting; also the priest. Treated them and the Indians; set off my boats; and went with three chairs to Captain Jarvis' where we took breakfast. Madame Jarvis accompanied us to our boats. In our way, called in at several houses to see some of the principal inhabitants. Dined with the company out of doors. Parted [from] them all at this place, which is called Isle de * * *. Set off at one, and encamped. At the west end of the lake, about two miles into the lake is a large island; nine leagues long and two miles broad; in several places very rocky; worth taking up, and also Isle Bois [Blanc] with one thousand acres of land on the east shore, where the Hurons formerly lived. The Indians and inhabitants were all very kind, and extremely pleased with all that was done at this meeting. We left their country with the greatest credit.

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Tuesday 22d. I sent my boats around the point, and ordered them encamped at the east side of the entrance of Lake

Sandusky into Lake Erie, which is about a mile across—there to wait my coming. Then I crossed the carrying-place, which is almost opposite one of the Wyandot towns, about six miles across the lake here. I sent Mr. Croghan to the Indian town, and went down the lake in a little birch canoe to the place where the block house is to be built by Mr. Myer. This place is about three leagues from the mouth of Lake Sandusky, where it disembogues itself into Lake Erie. They have a view of all boats which may pass or come in from said post. It is about three miles from another village of the Hurons, and fifteen by water from the one opposite to the carrying-place, and nine by land. The Pennsylvania road comes by this post. This is one hundred and seventy miles from Presque Isle, and forty miles from Detroit.

1762: ENGLISH ON THE UPPER LAKES.

[Summary of events at the upper posts for the year 1762.]

[The winter of 1761–62 passed quietly. During the summer, some changes were made in the disposition of troops. Maj. Henry Gladwin left Niagara July 30, to assume command at Detroit, in place of Capt. Donald Campbell, whom he retained as second in command. With him went Capt. George Ethrington[33] and his company of Royal Americans, who were destined to proceed to Lake Superior and possess themselves of

[33] Capt. George Ethrington was a native of Delaware, and enlisted as a non-commissioned man, but in 1756 a wealthy widow bought him a commission as lieutenant in the Royal Americans. Three years later he secured his captaincy, and being made commandant of Mackinac was captured by hostile Chippewa in June 1763. Reaching Montreal after great difficulties, he was next stationed in Philadelphia. His regiment was removed to the West Indies, where in 1770 he became major, in 1775 lieutenant-colonel, and in 1782 colonel. His battalion was stationed in the West Indies throughout the American Revolution, and then removed to England, where Ethrington died in 1787 or 1788.—Ed.

the posts at Sault Ste. Marie, Kaministiquia, and Chequamegon. Having arrived at Mackinac too late for an expedition to the Lake Superior posts, Ethrington remained at this place, sending Ensign John Jamer[34] with a small garrison to Sault Ste. Marie. The officers at the other posts remained unchanged: Lieut. Edward Jenkins at Ouiatanon, Ensign Robert Holmes at the Miami, Ensign Francis Schlosser at St. Josephs, Ensign Christopher Pauli at Sandusky,[35] and Lieut. James Gorrell at Green Bay. The latter was engaged all summer in treating with the tribesmen, ranging from the Menominee in the neighborhood of the fort, to the Iowa and Sioux in the farther West. Two tours of the lakes were made; one by Ensign Thomas Hutchins,[36] who bore messages to the Indians

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[34] All that is known of this unfortunate officer is, that he was commissioned ensign of the 60th (March 30, 1758), and had been in garrison duty at Niagara, whence he proceeded with Ethrington to Detroit and Mackinac. From the latter place he was sent with a small garrison to take possession of the post at Sault Ste. Marie. After the destruction of this fort by fire (Dec. 10, 1762), he returned to Mackinac, where he was the first victim of the Chippewa outbreak (June 2, 1763).—Ed.

[35] Christopher Pauli was commissioned ensign of the Royal Americans, Feb. 8, 1761, and in the summer of that year went with Lieut. Elias Meyer to build a post at Sandusky. Upon the latter's departure (1762), Pauli was left in command, being (May 16, 1763) captured by strategy. The fort was burned and most of the garrison destroyed, but Pauli was carried captive to the Indian camp near Detroit, adopted by a squaw, and finally escaped to the English fort. He was later (1770) made lieutenant, and in 1775 captain in the same regiment; stationed in the West Indies, he appears to have died there in 1778.—Ed.

[36] Ensign Thomas Hutchins was a native of New Jersey (1730), and joined the army when young. In 1762 he purchased a commission in the Royal Americans, and was sent out to carry instructions to the officers of the posts in regard to Indian affairs; see Gorrell's account in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 33. He returned to Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and was with that officer in his campaign of 1764, acting as topographer for the expedition. Afterwards he accompanied Bouquet to West Florida, and securing a lieutenancy was later stationed in the West

around Lake Michigan; one by Sir Robert Davers, who first arrived in Detroit in April and was there again for the winter.[37]

Late in December, fire broke out in the Sault Ste. Marie barracks, necessitating the abandonment of the post and the withdrawal of the garrison to Mackinac.[38]]

1763: INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

[Summary of Pontiac's conspiracy at the upper posts.]

[Watchful observers throughout the winter of 1762–63 had noticed that the Indians of the upper country were restless and acted in a suspicious manner. In March, Ensign Holmes of the Miami fort intercepted a war-belt among the Indians of

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Indies. His sympathies were with the American cause, so that being in London on the outbreak of the Revolution he was imprisoned, losing thereby a large sum of money. Upon his release, Hutchins proceeded to France, and thence to America, where he joined Greene's army in Charleston. His knowledge of engineering made him geographer-general of the United States. In that capacity he surveyed many boundary lines, and prepared several valuable maps that are important historical sources. His death occurred in Pittsburgh in 1789.—Ed.

[37] Sir Robert Davers was the eldest son of Sir Jermyn of Suffolk. His father having died in 1743, he was left the head of the family and lived at his seat of Rossbrooke. He came to America, apparently in 1761, for a year or more of travel and observation. In the spring of 1762 he was at Detroit, whence he left for a tour of the upper lakes, apparently visiting Lake Superior. Alexander Henry mentions his return thence, although assigning it to a wrong date. He spent the winter of 1762-63 at Detroit and going out early in May to assist Captain Robertson in sounding the upper St. Clair, was with his companions murdered by Indians (May 7, 1763), the first hostility of Pontiac's conspiracy. It is said that the body of Sir Robert was devoured at a cannibal feast.—Ed.

[38] See Henry's *Travels*, pp. 64–68. Lieut. John Jamet was seriously burned, and had great difficulty in reaching Mackinac.—Ed.

his post.[39] Early in May large numbers of tribesmen commenced to gather at Detroit. On the 7th they entered the fort, with the secret intention of massacring the garrison; but Major Gladwin had been warned, and the entire force was under arms, so that the Indian plot was foiled. At the same time all traders and travellers in the woods, away from the unfortified posts, were captured or murdered. May 10, the siege of Detroit began. On the 16th of the same month Fort Sandusky was captured; the 25th, St. Josephs; the 27th, Fort Miami. On the 28th, Lieut. Cornelius Cuyler,[40] coming with reinforcements from Niagara, was attacked and driven back, many of his detachment being killed or captured. Ouiatanon fell on the first of June, and its garrison were carried prisoners to Illinois. The next day Mackinac was captured by a stratagem.[41]

The Wisconsin Indians had not joined the conspiracy, and the fort at Green Bay was unmolested, although on May 18 an incipient Menominee plot had been detected.[42] June 15, Lieutenant Gorrell received word from Captain Ethrington of the trouble at Mackinac, and he at once went thither. Meanwhile, Father Du Jaunay[43] had left Mackinac in the hope of

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[39] See letter of Holmes in Parkman, *Pontiac's Conspiracy*, i, p. 189; and the speech of the tribesmen in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 181, 182.—Ed.

[40] Cuyler was ensign of the 55th infantry in 1759, and lieutenant in 1761. After his first defeat and return to Niagara, he came again to Detroit (June 30, 1763). The next year he was transferred to the 46th as captain, and as such served until made major of the 55th in 1777. He was advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy late in the same year, and a colonelcy in 1782. His name disappears from the army lists after 1789.—Ed.

[41] Alexander Henry, the trader, says that the fort fell on June 4, the King's birthday; but all contemporary letters mention the second of June as the date of the disaster at Mackinac.—Ed.

[42] Compare Gorrell's journal, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 37, 38; the Menominee tradition, in *Id.*, viii, pp. 226-231; and the letter of Moran the trader, in *Ibid.*, p. 233.—Ed.

[43] For this priest see *Id.*, xvii, p. 370.

securing succor at Detroit, where he arrived June 18. Finding this impossible he returned to his post. By the influence of this priest and of Charles Langlade,[44] the officers and traders were sent to Montreal to be ransomed. Ethrington left the command of the post in the hands of Langlade.

The siege of Detroit extended throughout the summer. On July 31 occurred the battle of Bloody Bridge, between Captain James Dalyell[45] of the relieving force and the Indians under Pontiac, in which the former was defeated and killed. August 5, Bouquet inflicted defeat on the Eastern conspirators at the battle of Bushy Run, and relieved the besieged garrison at Fort Pitt. In the autumn the attacks upon Detroit ceased, and the commandant was able to reduce the garrison and treat with the tribesmen for peace. The cessation of hostilities appears to have been due to the efforts of the French commandant at the Illinois.][46]

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[44] Langlade had been on the point of removal to Green Bay; see Ethrington's permit of April 13, in *Id.*, viii, p. 217. Why he did not go is not known. Henry disparages Langlade's conduct, but the letters of Ethrington show the full confidence of the latter in his integrity and desire to save the English captives.—Ed.

[45] Capt. James Dalyell (Parkman spells the name Dalzel, but the army lists give it with a y) was commissioned lieutenant of the Royal Americans in 1756, being transferred and promoted to a captaincy in the 80th light infantry in 1757. On the news of Pontiac's outbreak, Amherst sent him to Niagara, whence he was dispatched with a strong reinforcement for Detroit. He succeeded in gaining the latter fort, but sallying forth to give battle to the besiegers was defeated and slain (July 31, 1763).—Ed.

[46] See letters and messages from Neyon de Villiers in "Gladwin MSS.," *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, pp. 653-655; see also Gladwin's letter of Nov. 1, 1763, pp. 675-677.—Ed.

1763: MACKINAC CAPTURED

[The originals of the first three letters from Capt. George Ethrington to Charles Langlade, are in the Wisconsin Historical Library.]

10 June, 1763.

To Monsieur Langlade Fils

SIR—As I am oblig'd to leave this, and have a great confidence in you, I hereby impower you to take upon you the Command of this Post, and I order all the Inhabitants as well those that are within the Fort, as those that may arrive from the different places, to obey you as such, as they shall answer the Contrary at their peril.

You will prevent as much as within your power the savages from Comitting any more outrages against any of his Majestys Subjects that may arrive here in my absence, either French or English.

You will imeadiately collect all the provisions that was taken out of the Kings store since the second Instant, and take it under your charge to be dispos'd of as hereafter may be directed.

You will please advise me from time to time, of what Bataux or Canots may arrive here and when the Vessel arrives, you will send off the Letter to the Captain which I gave you for that purpose, and endeavour to furnish him with a pilot to come up to the mission or arber crosh[47] or where we may at that time be.

GEO: ETHERINGTON Capt

1 B R A Regiment late Commandant at Michilimackac

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[47] L'Arbre Croche mission village was founded in 1742 at the instance of the Mackinac members of the tribe; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 372. They were peaceful Indians, under the influence of their priest, and refused to enter into Pontiac's confederacy. The village has remained a centre for Catholic mission Indians to the present day. Its location was on Little Traverse Bay, near the present town of Harbor Springs, and some fifty miles distant by water, from Mackinac Island.—ED.

This is to Certify that I thoroughly believe Monsieur Langlad was intirly ignorant of the design of the Chipaways to surprize this post on the second instant,[48] and since that time he has us'd his utmost endeavors to accommodate matters with the savages, and that he was very instrumental in saving Lieut. Lesleys mine and the lives of the soldiers that were taken prisoners, and without doubt will be rewarded accordingly.

GEO: ETHERINGTON
Capt. 1t. B. R. A. Regiment

10th June MICHILIMACKINAC, 1763.
To Monsieur Langlad Fils.

ARBRE CROCH, July 1, 1763

SIR—The people of la Baye arrived this morning and are said to be very well disposed toward us.[49] The reason I am writing this letter is to get the father to come here, because the savages, as well as myself, are very anxious to see him. I beg you to find an opportunity for him so that he may start as soon as possible. Mr Solomon[50] sends you an Order to get

[48] For further particulars of the capture of this post, in Ethrington's letter to Gladwin (June 12, 1763), see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 162–164. This was the letter sent by Father du Jaunay to Detroit. It is likewise published in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, pp. 631, 632, and Parkman, *Pontiac*, i, pp. 275, 276. For a letter of Ethrington to Langlade, on the former's situation at l'Arbre Croche, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 217–219.—ED.

[49] Ethrington wrote Gorrell (June 11) to evacuate the fort at Green Bay, and come at once to his assistance. This was received the 15th of June, whereupon Gorrell at once made preparation to obey instructions. The Menominee, Sauk, Foxes, and Winnebago formed a guard to protect the English from harm, and they arrived safely at l'Arbre Croche the evening of June 30; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 38–45. Gorrell states that the lives of the remaining officers and soldiers at Mackinac were spared because of the intercession of the Green Bay Indians.—ED.

[50] Ezekiel Solomon went up in the summer of 1761 from Montreal to Mackinac, to enter the fur-trade. He was one of the traders res-

fifty pounds of Tobacco from Lajoie, which you will send by the father's canoe with some pounds of pork. I have already written you to get salt from Mr Bostweek. I have just received your letter through Chabollee[51] and I will write you more at length by him.

I remain, Sir, your very humble servant

GEO: ETHERINGTON.

You will get the fifty pounds of Tobacco from Lajoie and I will pay him if he will not give it on Mr Solomon's account.

To Mr. Langlade, junior at Michilimakina

[Extract from a letter of Ethrington to Gladwin, dated Michilimackinac, July 18, 1763. Reprinted from Gladwin MSS., in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, p. 639.]

DEAR SIR—The Express which I sent off to Lieut. Gorrell at Labay arrived very luckily one day before that Post was to have been cutt off. The Savages of that Post came down [to] the Indian Village where I was Prisoner, & brought with them Lieut. Gorrell and all his Garrison, and they with Mr. Lesley, me and fourteen men that remained of the Garrison of this Place, are just embarking for Montreal under a guard of sixty savages of the Outawa Nation.

I have a thousand things to tell you but I cannot trust them by this conveyance, I have heard nothing of the four men that I sent last May to St. Josephs, there is two of my men yet with the Chippewas. I have prevailed with the savages to permit all the English merchants to carry all the goods to Mon-

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cued by the advent of the English garrison, Sept. 28. Captured in the uprising of 1763, he was carried to Montreal and ransomed. He returned later to continue his fur-trade, outfitting in 1778 for Nipigon and elsewhere on the northern shore of Lake Superior.—ED.

[51] The Chabollier were a prominent Mackinac family, whose father Charles married there (1735) one of the Chevalier family. The brothers Charles, Augustin, Louis, and Hypolite were all in the fur-trade, and became faithful partisans of Great Britain.—ED.

treal under the convoy, I have been at a very great expense here but it was all unavoidable. I don't despair of seeing you this Fall at Detroit & am, in the meantime, Dear Sir, Yours Sincerely,

GEORGE ETHRINGTON

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Claus[62] to Sir William Johnson, dated Montreal, Aug. 6, 1763. Reprinted from Franklin B. Hough, *Diary of the Siege of Detroit* (Albany, 1860), p. 31.]

Whilst I am writing this my Landlord tells me that Capt. Ethrington and Lieut. Lessley passed the Door coming from Missilimak[k] who I heare with all the Traders except one Trasey who was killed by the Enemy Ind[ns] were escorted here by the Ottawas as living near that place. I followed them immediately to the Gov[s], and there learned the News of them Parts, which is that a Parcell of Chippeways to the Number of 100 assembled near the Fort as customary in the Beginning of Summer, and diverted themselves playing Football, and Cap[t] Ethrington and Mr. Lessley (not suspecting the least Treachery, having then not heard a Word of Detroit being besieged by the Enemy Indians) stood out of the Fort to see the Indians Play: that on a Signal given by a Yell, they both were seized and bound, and that the same Instant the Centries were tomahawked, likewise Mr. James [Jamet], who was Officer of the Day in the Fort, together with 18 Soldiers killed and taken. Then the Traders were plundered and taken Prisoners; that afterwards themseves were dragged to the Chippe-

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[62] Daniel Claus was a native of Germany (1727), and when about of age came to America, where he encountered Conrad Weiser and accompanied him on an embassy to the Iroquois. His proficiency in Indian languages attracted notice, and he was sent to reside with Sir William Johnson and Hendrick the Mohawk. There he married Sir William's daughter, and became assistant superintendent of Indian affairs, with headquarters in Canada; he was likewise captain in the Royal American regiment. During the American Revolution he was an active Loyalist, and died in Wales (1787).—ED.

ways' Encampment where the Spoil was divided, and a Council held, in what Manner the Officers were to be put to Death. In the mean Time the News reached the Ottawa Town 30 Miles from Missilimakinak, who without any Delay sat off armed to Missilimakinak, and inquired into the Reason of the Chippeways Behaviour. The latter had nothing to say but that a few Days before the Blow, they received Belts of Wamp^{m} from Pontiac, the Ottawas' Chief at Detroit, in conjunction with ye Chiefs of their Nation living there, informing them of the Rupture with the English, and desiring them to cut off Missilim^{k}. The Ottawas were surprised and chagreened and insisted upon the Chipways delivering up the Pris^{rs}, &c.

The latter to reconcile themselves with the Ottawas, made up a Heap of Goods and put Mr. Lassley & 2 Soldiers by them as their Share of the Prey, but they would not accept of it, and demanded all the Pris^{rs}. The Chipways at last gave way and delivered over Mr. Lassley and the Soldiers and demanded a Ransom for the Traders, which they agreed to, and being every one exchanged they took them into their Care and afterwards escorted them safe to this Place. The Officers and Traders can not say enough of the good Behaviour of these Ottawas and Genl Gage[53] is resolved to use and reward them well for their Behaviour. As Capt. Ethrington is going to Gen. Amherst, you will doubtless hear the Particulars of the whole Affair. By what I can find none but the Chipeways at Missilim^{k} and those of the same Nation & Ottawas at Detroit, are concerned in the present Breach. All the rest of the western Nations, and even som Chipways living at the Falls of St. Mary would not engage or receive the Belts sent by Pontiac, and on the contrary are very well inclined to our Interest, in particular the Nations living at La Bay, and the Sioux, who

[53] Gen. Thomas Gage (1721–87) entered the army at the age of twenty, serving first in Flanders. He came to America with Braddock and served through the war, being placed in command of Montreal upon its surrender. Late in 1763 he replaced Amherst as commander-in-chief, stationed at New York. His later career in Massachusetts, where he was stationed in 1775, is well known.—Ed.

are always at War with the Chipways; and if the Ind^{ns} now here (among whom are some other Nat^{s} as they come here in behalf of 8 Nat^{s} to the westward who assure us of their Friendship) leave this satisfied, it may be of infinite Service wch I intend to represent to Gen. Gage, and I believe you will approve of making them handsome Presents as an Encouragement for their good Behaviour, and the only Means of chastising those villainous Nations who are the Occasion of this unhappy Event.

[Letter from Ethrington to Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MONTREAL 15th August 1763.

SIR—I have just time to thank you for all your favors and to tell you that I have acquainted the General of your good Behavior who will write you himself by the savages who have been very well received.

for further particulars I refer you to the Generals Letter my Compliments to M^{r}. Farly[54] and all your Family and am

Sir your most obedient Humble Servant

GEO: ETHRINGTON.

Monseur Langlad Fils a Michilimaciniak

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[54] Jacques Philippe Farly, who had been official interpreter for the French. He was born in Canada in 1710, and after marying a Canadian removed (about 1742) to Mackinac. Later, he had a Chippewa wife. He was, with Langlade, instrumental in saving the officers.—ED.

1763: THE ILLINOIS

[Letter from Neyon de Villiers to d'Abbadie. Translated from Villiers du Terrage, *Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, pp. 178, 179.]

FORT CHARTRES, Dec. 1, 1763.

If General Amherst had informed me of the cessation of hostilities and the ratification of the treaty, each event as it occurred, I could have disposed the tribes accordingly, convinced as I am, that a man worthily representative, is incapable of taking advantage of the law of nations. I would have had collars passed about in all this region, and I dare flatter myself, that from the confidence the red men have in me, I could have put a stop to this conspiracy. But ignorant as I was, it was out of my power to accomplish this, and I have reason to fear that matters have gone to such lengths that it will be difficult for me to quiet them.

I have had the honor to report to you what I have done to execute the orders you have sent me, in passing collars, messages, and calumets in every direction throughout this region.

The sieur Debeaujeu, who was charged with sending the messages, calumets and collars to all the northern tribes, decided to winter sixty leagues away, on the Illinois river, with a party of the Poutéouatamis and to send his messages further. The latter, with whom he has communicated, have replied to me that their chiefs and old men have always listened to my words, but that they cannot answer for their warriors, and moreover it was the Master of Life who incited them to war. It is well to observe, Monsieur, that a prophetic spirit arose among the Abénottes, a man of that nation[55] having without difficulty con-

[55] This prophet appeared among the Delawares on the Tuscarora, and according to the Pontiac MS. (*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 268–272) was the inciting cause of the attack on the English. His dream and interview with the Master of Life, as related by De Neyon, correspond in essence with the more detailed narrative of the Pontiac MS.—ED.

vinced his own tribesmen and in turn all the red men, that God appeared to him and said:

"I am the Master of Life, it is I who have made all men, therefore I ought to watch over their preservation. That is why I give you warning, that if you suffer the English among you, you are dead. The diseases they bring, smallpox, and their imprisoning you, will totally destroy you. You must pray to me and do nothing that is not reported to me, I will sustain you, but you must abandon your mats and your manitous; a plurality of wives is against my law."

This pretended apparition has had an effect that I can scarcely explain to you, I am perfectly convinced of its influence among the Poutéouatamis, who have rejected their mats and manitous, who live with only one wife, perform their devotions night and morning and all wish to be baptized.

The 27 of October, I received a letter from the chief Pontiak, that I enclose to you.

I have recalled from the Peorias the Sieur Toulon, as well as his garrison. I have reduced that of fort Massac to fifteen men and an officer, I have had transported to Sainte-Geneviève all the artillery that is in good repair. It consists of five pieces of cannon, one of three and four of two [pounds], eighty cannon-balls and nineteen grenades. There remain three pieces of artillery, which I have given orders to have dismounted at the moment of evacuation.

Spite of my desire to return to my penates, that desire would go for nothing, if I believe it would be opposed to the good of the service, but, less to make my apology than that of the post, I have the honor to observe to you that the commandant here has always been regarded by all the tribesmen as a father ready to aid them, notably during the last three years, when I have succeeded in contenting them although deprived of all succor from Canada.

The savages congratulate themselves to see me here yet, after all the preparations [to secure this post] that they have seen made from fort Duquesne. They say to me constantly: "Take

courage my Father, do not abandon thy children, the English will never come here while there is one red man left."

It seems to me necessary to evacuate this post, this is the sole means to stop the attacks upon the English. I should have done it in the first days of march of last year, which is the best and most seasonable time, since the river is then most navigable from the height of the waters.[56]

1764: NEWS FROM WISCONSIN

[Extracts from Hough, *Diary of Siege of Detroit*, pp. 88, 99, 100.]

Feb. 23. This day two Saky's [Sauk] came in and informed the Commandant that the Chibbaways of the Isles about Michilimakinac had sent Belts this Winter to their Nation, to the Folavin & Puante, to strike against us this Spring, but they wou'd not receive them. That Wassong & Mashoquise[57] had tried to prevent that Party from coming from towards St. Joseph that was here some Time ago, but they wou'd not be advis'd, they said they had lost a Man last year & they wou'd have Revenge. That if they had known it sooner they wou'd have

[56] D'Abbadie, upon the receipt of this letter, wrote in his diary under date of Feb. 14, 1764: "A boat from the Illinois has just arrived. The news that Monsieur de Neyon sends me is disturbing. The savages visit him often in detachments of 20 and 30, and he must give them something or run the risk of their threats. The savages have raised the siege of Detroit, but this augurs nothing better for the English."—Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années*, p. 178.

[57] Wasson (Wassong, Owasso) was the chief of the Saginaw band of Chippewa, and had come to the aid of Pontiac in the siege of Detroit. In 1764 he sued for peace, and retired to Saginaw. In 1775 he went as far as Fort Pitt to treat with the American commissioners. The chiefs of the Saginaw band continued to bear this title (modified to Owasso) until the removal (1838) of the last chieftain of that name from his village near the Michigan town named for him.

Mashoquise headed the Potawatomi village at St. Josephs.—Ed.

advis'd us of it before they arriv'd, but they [knew] nothing of it till they were gone.

That the Delawares & Shawanys had sent Belts during the Winter towards St. Joseph & La Bay to invite the Nations thereabout to take up Arms against us in the Spring.

* * * * * * * *

July 1, This Evening about ten o'Clock one Reaume, a Frenchman,[58] ariv'd from Michilimackinac with 18 Cannoes of Savages who came from the Bay the 3d June to go to Montreal, but when they ariv'd at Michilimackinac they were inform'd that ten Cannoes that were going there and [met] an Express with a Belt informing them that they shou'd go to Niagara where they wou'd meet a great English Chief, upon which they took their Route this way, & several Cannoes from the Nations thereabouts went across Lake Huron by way of Lake Ontario.[59] They brought four Englishmen with them with all their Packs, who had been amongst them since last Spring was a Year.[60]

* * * * * * * *

July 4. This morning the above Indians came in to the Amount of fifty & told the Commandant that they, the Renards, the Sieus [Sioux], the Saky's, Puants & Pians, were one Body & one Heart, and that that Heart was as well intentioned as it had always been; that he knew himself from their Behavior last Year that theirs & ours cou'd be but one; that they were invited by the General last Year to come to Montreal this

[58] The family of Reaume was one of the earliest stationed at La Baye, where Pierre was official interpreter as early as 1728. See Mackinac Register, *post*. They were probably but distantly connected with the Detroit family of the same name.—Ed.

[59] They went by way of Matchedash Bay and Toronto portage. Alexander Henry was among those who proceeded by this route. See account in his journals, pp. 156–174. The great English chief was Sir William Johnson, who arrived at Niagara on July 8, and remained for over a month, holding councils.—Ed.

[60] For these four traders, see the succeeding document.—Ed.

Spring, but that when they were assembled at Michilimacinac they received a Belt from him, telling them that he stop'd up the Passage that way as the Small Pox was amongst his People which they might catch & carry home to the Destruction of their Wifes & Children, but if they wou'd go to Niagara they wou'd find all they were in need of, for which Reason they beg'd the Rivers & Lakes might be open to them as usual, shewing the Belt they receiv'd.

[Traders' reports. Reprinted from Gladwin MSS., in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxvii, pp. 668–670.]

The Deposition of Garrit Roseboom, Tunis Fischer, Cummin Shields and Wm. Bruce, Merch's from LaBay,[61] as taken upon Oath before a Court of Enquiry at the Detroit the 4th day of July, 1764.

Capt. James Grant, 60th Reg., President.

Lieut. George McDougal, 60 Regt., Lieut. Richard Williams, 60th Regt., Members.

Garrit Roseboom declares that about the latter end of April, 1763, he was going from the Bay to the Soaks [Sauk] to look for his Partnr Abrah[a]m Lancing who had been up there, being told that he was killed, that on his way he met some Indians coming down with some Packs, which he knew to be his, and which they said he might have for paying the carriage; That both the French and Indians told him, Mr. Lancing and his son were killed by two Frenchmen, Tibot & Cardinal, both

[61] Of these four traders three are mentioned by Gorrell, as having gone back from Mackinac with the La Baye Indians in Aug., 1763. Gerrit Roseboom belonged to a prominent family of Albany traders, of Dutch ancestry. It was his father, Capt Johannes Roseboom, who was captured on Lake Huron in 1687 by the French. The family had large interests in the fur-trade, and evidently lost no time in going to the upper country when it was opened to the English.

Teunis Visscher (Fisher) likewise belonged to a well-known family of Albany traders.—Ed.

servts of Mr. Lancing, who, they had been told, upon the above Murder made their escape to the Illinois;[62] that on his return to the Bay he found Mr. Gorrell and the Garrison there, and came with them to Michilimackinac, leaving his goods in posesssion of one Jordan, a Frenchman and an Inhabitant at the Bay;[63] that when he returned from Michilimackinac with the Indians to La Bay, he found some of his goods taken away. He thinks of his and Mr. Fisher's to the value of 20 pounds, wh. he said was stolen by the Indians, but Mr. Roseboom declares he saw his goods wore by Jordan's Family afterwards. That the Indians had often told him that the French at the Bay (in particular Goalie, the Interpreter to Mr. Gorrell, and Langlad's Son in Law Sourini[64]) had told *them* there was an open war between the English and French; That the French would send the Indians ammunition enough & if they went down amongst the English they would put poison in their Rum, which he was sure prevented the Indians from coming down much sooner, and declares from the treatment He and the rest of the English Traders received, and the lyes propogated by the French at La Bay, among the Indians, such as the English being all killed, an open war with the French, the French fleets and Armies being at Quebec and the Mississippi, he thinks

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[62] Abraham Lansing belonged to a leading Albany family, and was probably a relative of Roseboom, whose grandmother was a Lansing.

Thibaut and Cardinal are both common names among the voyageurs of the early Northwest. In 1790 there were five heads of families in the Illinois by the name of Thibaut (Thebalt, Thibeau, Thiebau, Tibault, Tibeau). Jean Marie Cardinal is thought by some historians to have been the first settler of Prairie du Chien.—Ed.

[63] Jean Baptiste Jourdain was one of the early settlers of La Baye. Born at Montreal in 1718, he was in Wisconsin before 1746, when he married, at Mackinac, one of the Reaume family. His descendant, Joseph, was a prominent settler in the early American period.—Ed.

[64] Pierre le Duc *dit* Souligny married (1758) the elder Langlade's step-daughter, Agathe Villeneuve. Souligny is reputed to have accompanied Langlade on some of the latter's warlike expeditions. He died soon after this date.—Ed.

these Inhabitants were very bad subjects, except one Ducharm, a Montreal merchant, who had come there last Fall,[65] and who treated him very well, and to his knowledge had often endeavored to persuade the Indians, not to believe all that was told them—that it was all a lye. Mr. Tuenis Fisher, being in Compy with the aforesaid Deponant at La Bay, declares that the Deposition above consists literally, with his knowledge, therefore confirms the Truth thereof; Mr. Cummin Shields declares that he, being at La Bay all last winter, frequently heard (understanding the French language) the Lyes propogated to disturb the Indians, as already declared by Roseboom and Fisher, and further that he heard Young Langlad say before him and Ducharm, that there were 1,000 English killed at the Portage of Niagara, 500 Inhabitants on the back Settlements killed,[66] and that some Governor, he does not remember who, had been so hard pushed by the Savages that he had got shipping ready to carry him and his People away, and abandon his province; that the Dauphin of France being displeased with the Peace concluded by his Father, had arrived in the Mississippi with a large Fleet, and that the Indians would be supplied from that quarter with all necessaries that they would want: All this he declared to have read in a newspaper which came up to the Priest. That a Frenchman called Knash Bray,[67] who lived with Ducharm told him, the Deponant, that he heared Sourini say to Ducharm he would give 20 packs if there never should another Englishman come there. William Bruce de-

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[65] For Ducharme see *ante*, p. 161, note 4.—Ed.

[66] Langlade's figures were exaggerated. His first statement refers to the massacre of Devil's Hole, on Niagara portage, Sept. 30, 1763, where a pack-train, with its military escort, coming back from Fort Schlosser, was utterly overwhelmed. A force of soldiers sallying to their assistance, was cut to pieces. The British loss was about one hundred. As for the frontiers, George Croghan estimated in January, 1764, that two thousand persons had been killed or captured from the back settlements. See Parkman, *Pontiac*, ii, p. 115.—Ed.

[67] In 1821 there was at Green Bay a settler named Louis Brasipré—it is possible that this may have been a similar name.—Ed.

clares that in the Spring 1763 hearing Michilimackinac was taken, he came down from the Bay and left his goods in the care of one Le Deuke, a Frenchman;[68] that when he returned he found they were all taken away. Le Deuke said by the Indians. That the Indians who were with him at Michilimackinac asked the two chiefs who were left there, how they could permit their young men to do this; that they said that Le Deuke had robbed the goods himself and desired that they (the Indians) shou'd take them as the English at Michilimackinac were all killed, other Indians wou'd come and take them, that it was well they might have them; That he did not after find any of his Goods in Possession of Le Deuke, but that he carried on a Trade with the Indians all Winter, and to his knowledge he had no Goods before he the Deponant, was pillaged, which the other deponents affirm, nor any method, which they could see, by which they might come at goods, except by pillaging; That in September 1763, there was a letter sent up to La Bay from the Priest at Michilimackinac by one Mastoc, that there had been 400 English and the General who came with them killed at Detroit,[69] this letter was directed to old Langlad, who he, the Deponant saw read the letter to the Indians. That about the latter end of Sept a Chief of the Soaks had brought him up [a river] called the Wisconsin & at the Renards Castle, an Indian, told him that he was come from La Bay with a letter from Goalie, the Interpreter, to one Le Beaue,[70] telling him that there were officers from France who had come with a large Fleet commanded by the Dauphin, &c, and that the Governor of Quebec had offered these officers a Purse of Money for their

[68] For early Wisconsin traders named Le Duc, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, index; and *ante*, p. 8, note 14.—Ed.

[69] Possibly Mastoc is a misprint for Marcot. A Jean Baptiste Marcot was married in 1758 to a native woman at Mackinac. The priest's letter referred to the defeat of Capt. James Dalyell at Detroit; see *ante*.—Ed.

[70] Jean Baptiste Lebeau was a Wisconsin trader who in 1764 married one of the Jourdain daughters; see Mackinac Register, *post*.—Ed.

News, that soon after the Fleet was seen, and that Quebec and Montreal would soon be taken, being no more than 500 men in Each, which news immediately spread among the Indians, who were there at the time in great numbers; that the Sauteurs, Ottawas, Renards and Puants gave a Good Deal of Credit to it having a few days before received a Belt from the Indians about Detroit to come to War against the English, but that the Soaks and the Folleavoines could not believe it; That at the Soaks Castle the Indians told him, the Deponant, the French there intended to kill him, on which they called a council and brought the French to it, and told them if they killed the Englishman every Frenchman should die with Him, this had been told him by the Indians to whom the French had discovered their intentions; the Names of the French on the above Voyage up the Wisconsin were, Martoc, Jordan & Labeau, Rivier, St. Pier, Mon. Fontasie, Havness, Lafortain, the three first discovering all the marks of bad subjects and disaffection to the English in their whole behaviour; That he hear'd St. Pier say that if he had wrote such a letter as the Interpreter wrote to Labeau, he wo'd expect to be hanged if ever he went among the English; That St. Pier, Rivier, and Fontasie[71] did all they could to prevent the Indians from believing the letter above, that in the opening of the Mississippi River his Chief asked the Deponant if these Lands did belong to the English; he said they did, but La Beau immediately contradicted him and said it was a Lye, and that all was false that the English officers had told him, the Chief, in saying it was Peace between the English & French. There was no such thing, and repeated the contents of Goalie's Letter to the Indians, That when they had come down the Mississippi River about ten days the Indians told

[71] A trader named St. Pierre was an early settler at Milwaukee; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 210, 211; also tradition in Parkman Club *Papers* (Milwaukee 1896), i, p. 81, note.

Pierre and Julien la Rivière were early settlers of Prairie du Chien.

François Maurice de la Fantaisie was a native of Montreal, being married at Mackinac; see Register, *post*.—Ed.

him that St. Pier and the other French there had sent a Petition to the Commandant of the Illinois, the Contents of wh. he cou'd not justly tell, but he was informed it began in acquainting them, they had killed the English at Michilimackinac and had not forgot their old Fathers, that one Bonfoi was bearer of said Petition the Commdt had ordered them to leave off, & not to kill any English, that in killing them they killed the French, they being one people.[72] That the Puants, Reynards & Soaks wrote down this Spring with the other Nations to Montreal for goods but were prevented by one Le Vorn who came from the Illinois, and told them if they went down the English would hang them, and cut off their heads; That they had Plenty of Goods at the Illinois wh. he would bring them; That he and other Frenchmen went off to Illinois for said Goods wh. hindered said Indians from bringing down their Peltry. The Goalie had told the Indians that the Genl had sd. he cou'd hang Capt. Ethrington, if he had a mind, but he would send him to His Majesty.

James Grant,
George McDougal,
Rich'd Williams.

1764: WISCONSIN INDIAN PRAISED

[Certificate granted Aug. 1, 1764, to a Menominee Indian. Original in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

[Seal of Wax] By the Honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet, His Majestys sole agent and superintendant of the affairs of the Northern Indians of North America, Colonel of the six United Nations their allies and dependants &c., &c., &c.

To OGemawnee a Chief of the Menominys Nation:

Whereas I have received from the officers who commanded

[72] See letter of the French commandant, *ante*.—Ed.

By the Honourable Sir William Johnson Baronet
His Majesty's sole agent and superintendant of the affairs of
The Northern Indians of North America Colour of the six
United Nations their allies and dependants &c. &c. &c.

To Ogemawnee a Chief of the Menomingo Nation

Whereas I have received from the Officers who Commanded the Out posts as well as from other persons an account of your good behaviour last year in protecting the Officers, Soldiers &c. of the Garrison of Fort Bay and in exerting them down to Montreal [illegible] to [illegible] amount [illegible] you having likewise entered into the strongest engagement [illegible] the English [illegible] at their place, I do therefore give you This Testimony of my Esteem for your Services and Good behaviour

Given Under my hand & Seal at Arms at
Niagara the first day of August 1764.

W. M. Johnson

JOHNSON'S CERTIFICATE TO OGEMAWNEE
Dated, Niagara, August 1, 1764. Reduced facsimile of original

the Out posts as well as from other persons an account of your good behaviour last year in protecting the Officers, Soldiers, &c., of the Garrison of La Bay, and in escorting them down to Montreal as also the Effects of the Traders to a large amount, and you having likewise entered into the strongest Engagement of Friendship for the English before me at this place, I do therefore give you This Testimony of my Esteem for your Services and Good behaviour.[73]

Given under my hand & Seal at Arms at Niagara the first day of August, 1764.[74]

WM. JOHNSON.

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[73] This document was for many years treasured in the family of this Menominee chief, being handed down from father to son, until it was presented in token of esteem, to an American officer visiting the tribe. It is now in possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society; see accompanying reproduction.—ED.

[74] For an account of the conference of Sir William Johnson at Niagara, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 648–658. Setting out from Johnson Hall early in June, he reached the fort at Niagara July 8, at the same time that Col. John Bradstreet arrived with his large detachment intended for the relief of Detroit. By the twenty-fifth of the month deputies from nearly all the Western tribes had appeared. The Seneca held back, but at last came in and conferences and negotiations were continued for nearly a month. The concourse of tribesmen was greater than had before been seen at a council with the English, over two thousand being in attendance. The Ottawa of Detroit, the Huron of Sandusky, and the Delawares and Shawnee of the Ohio failed to come. Treaties were made with the Huron from Detroit, and the Seneca. The other tribes protested that they had not participated in the attacks on the English. All of the chiefs bringing credentials of good conduct from the English officers were rewarded, and many certificates similar to the above were presented to those entitled thereto.—ED.

1764: RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF MACKINAC

[Summary of documents on the return of an English garrison to Mackinac.]

[One of the results of the treaty and conference at Niagara, in the summer of 1764, was the consent of the Indians to the re-establishment of an English garrison at Michilimackinac. Thereupon Col. John Bradstreet,[75] in command of an army of over two thousand men, destined for the relief of Detroit, and the punishment of the hostile Indians, was ordered to send a party of regulars to retake Fort Mackinac. After being deceived by the astute tribesmen into signing with them a fallacious peace, Bradstreet reached Detroit August 27, and at once set his engineers to work to prepare boats and provisions for the garrison at Mackinac.[76] He also had enlisted two companies of French habitants to accompany the regulars thither and aid in pacifying the Indians and establishing the new garrison.[77] September 1, the expedition left Detroit under command of Capt. William Howard of the 17th infantry,[78] with a detachment composed of two companies of regulars and an artillery force. With them was the trader Alexander

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[75] Col. John Bradstreet, who was of English birth but had become a colonist by adoption, distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. In the French and Indian War he was given command of a force of voyageurs, and with their aid defended Oswego and captured Fort Frontenac (1758). Promoted to a colonelcy in 1762, he was sent to punish the Western Indians, which duty he performed somewhat inefficiently. In 1772 he became major-general, but died at Detroit two years later.—Ed.

[76] See the journal of Capt. John Montresor (1764) in New York Historical Society *Collections*, 1881, pp. 285, 287.—Ed.

[77] For the result of this, see *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, pp. 133, 134.—Ed.

[78] Capt. William Howard was commissioned to that rank in 1756, and three years later was serving under Amherst on the Lake George frontier. He remained in command at Mackinac until 1766, when he was superseded by Robert Rogers, of ranger fame. Howard had left the army by 1768.—Ed.

Henry. No Indians were encountered en route, the report of the advance of the British army having driven them from the lake. The schooner "Gladwin" was sent after them, on the ninth, with provisions and equipment.[79] The militia returned to Detroit on October 27th.]

[Letter from Colonel Bradstreet to Lieutenant Sinclair,[80] dated Sept. 12, 1764; reprinted from *Diary of the Siege of Detroit*, p. 285.]

DETROIT, 12th Sept. 1764.

SIR—You are hereby requir'd and directed the Beginning of May next to receive on board the Schooner Gladwin a Load of Provisions for the Garrison at Michilimicanack & with it proceed to that Place, and as soon as you have delivered it you are to sail for the Bottom of the Bay where we had a Fort, & from thence round the Lake Michigan steering up the River St. Josephs as far as you can, making throughout the whole Voyage such Remarks & Observations as the Importance of the Service you are ordered on requires for the future Navigation of those Lakes, observing the same on Lake Huron, the whole of which you will report in Writing to Lt. Col. Campbell[81] or Officer commanding here on your Return and receive from him Directions for your further Conduct.

As you will doubtless see many Savages before you return you will inform them, that the Reason of your sailing round

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[79] This is thought to have been the first schooner to ply between Detroit and Mackinac.—ED.

[80] There was in the army more than one lieutenant of this name. Possibly it was Lieut. Patrick Sinclair, later governor of Mackinac, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 141.—Ed.

[81] Col. John Campbell of the 17th infantry was commanding officer at Detroit from August, 1764 to August, 1766. In 1773 he was transferred to the 57th as commander, and in that capacity served through the American Revolution, surrendering to Washington at Yorktown. He was promoted through the various grades, reaching that of general in 1797, and died at his seat in Scotland, Sept. 28, 1806.—Ed.

those Lakes is to find out if it is practicable for Vessels agreeable to my Promise to them at Neagara.

I am etc.

J. B.

1764: ASPECT OF DETROIT

[Description of Detroit by Lieut. Thomas Mante;[82] reprinted from his *History of the Late War in North America* (London, 1772), pp. 524, 525.]

The business with the Indians being thus happily finished, and peace thereby restored to the English settlements, Colonel Bradstreet began to prepare for his return to Sandusky, to meet the Shawanese and the Delawars, and put the finishing hand to the treaty which he had entered upon with the deputies of these nations on the Lake-Erie, and fixed the 24th of September for his departure: But he first gave such orders for the security and tranquillity of the inhabitants, and the advancement of agriculture and trade, as could not fail, in time, to render this infant colony both happy in itself, and useful to the mother-country. To be convinced of this, we need only take a transient view of this delightful spot, a description of which, we hope, may be agreeable as, on account of its remoteness, the ideas most people entertain of this country, are very much circumscribed. The country called Detroit, is that washed by the strait which forms the communication between the Lakes St. Clair and Erie. The improvements on the eastern banks of this strait, extend north and south, about nine miles; and those on the western banks, about seven. In purity and wholesomeness of air, and richness of soil, it may be said

[82] Lieut. Thomas Mante entered the 77th infantry in 1762. He acted as assistant engineer at the siege of Havana, and as major of brigade on Bradstreet's expedition. The book here referred to has unquestioned value for the French and Indian War. Mante was the author, also, of several military works.—Ed.

to equal, if not excel any, even the best parts of America. Every European grain flourishes here in the utmost perfection; and hemp and flax, in particular, might be raised to the greatest advantage. The woods are everywhere filled with vines of spontaneous growth; and their grape yields a juice equal in flavour to the most excellent burgundy. The country around it appears like one great park stocked with buffaloes, deer, pheasants, wild turkies, and partridges. Domestic animals and fowls are here in the utmost perfection. Aquatic birds of every species are in the greatest plenty, and of the highest flavour; and the rivers afford an astonishing variety of the most delicious fish. The soil and climate are so favourable to vegetation, that every vegetable is to be procured with the smallest trouble. In short, a man that can shoot and fish, and understands the art of making wine, may enjoy every luxury of the most sumptuous table, at the sole expence of his own labour. The inhabitants of Detroit are not numerous; and, notwithstanding the allurements which plenty holds forth to people to settle here, the want of a sufficient force to secure them against the caprice of the neighboring Indians, and of authority to secure good order amongst themselves, has hitherto deterred such as have any settlements elsewhere, from endeavouring to partake of the abundant produce of nature, at the expence of the property they already enjoy, and perhaps their lives. But should Detroit be ever formed into a regular government, we will venture to prophecy, that it will greatly extend itself; and from the plenty, variety, and richness of its produce, prove a beneficial settlement to the mother-country.

1765: FRENCH LEASE OF LA BAYE

[Letter from the French minister to Madame de Rigaud. MS. in Archives Coloniales, Paris; pressmark, "Amérique, série B., vol. 122, folio 196."]

VERSAILLES, June 19 1765

To Madame de Rigaud

I have the honor to send you, Madame, as requested by you, a collated copy of the concession of the post of la Baye in Canada, granted you in 1759 for your life and for that of Monsieur de Rigaud, by the governor and intendant of that colony in consequence of orders to that effect received by them from the King.

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, dated Johnson Hall, March 22, 1766. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 817, 818.]

I have been applyed to by the Merchants of Canada concerning a purchase lately made by M^r^ *Wm. Grant* from Monsr *Rigaud* and *Madame de Vaudreuille* of the Fort at *La Baye de Puans in Lake Michigan* with an extensive territory over which he is to have exclusive right of trade with liberty to erect houses and make establishments thereon, to the infinite loss and detriment of the trading people and likewise to the General dissatisfaction of the Indians who cannot fail to be greatly alarmed at such an Establishment beyond our Provincial Limits.

This grant to Mr Rigaud & his Lady was from the Marquis de Vaudreuille in October 1759, and confirmed by the King of France in Jany 1760, at a very critical period when *Quebec* was ours and *Montreal* only wanting to complete the conquest of Canada, and therefore evidently intended as a perquisite well knowing some of our unwary people might be drawn in to give a valuable consideration for it, as it would be highly impolitic for them to make such a grant or permit such Settlements if they continued Masters of [the] Country since it

would alienate the affections of the Indians, and of [from] Friends make them bitter Enemys, which they will doubtless prove to us if the Grant is attempted to be enforced.

1765: BRITISH IN THE ILLINOIS

[Summary of documents on affairs in the Illinois, and the British occupation.]

[Sir William Johnson having conciliated the northern tribesmen at the treaty of Niagara in 1764, and Col. Henry Bouquet having secured peace with the Delawares and Shawnee of the Ohio, it was determined to send George Croghan, deputy Indian agent, to attempt a peace with the tribes of the Wabash and Illinois, who were still under Pontiac's influence, and had deceived Bradstreet with pretended overtures for pardon. Croghan arrived at Fort Pitt early in the spring of 1765, but was detained until May 15 by important conferences with the tribesmen. Meanwhile, Lieut. Alexander Fraser had gone in advance, with only three companions. Although reaching Kaskaskia in safety, he was there in such danger that his life was spared only by Pontiac's interference, and he escaped to Mobile in disguise.[83] Croghan was captured below the Wabash, and carried prisoner to Ouiatanon, where he succeeded in reconciling the Kickapoo, Mascoutin, and Miami, and procuring his liberty. On the way to the Illinois he encountered Pontiac, with whom he made a definitive treaty of peace, and therefore turned back to Detroit, where in councils from August 17–

[83] Lieut. Alexander Fraser, formerly of the 78th infantry, was detailed to accompany Croghan, because of his knowledge of the French language. He rashly urged to be allowed to go in advance. Concerning his adventure, see his letter of May 20, from Kaskaskia, in *Mich Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 216–218.—Ed.

September 25, he succeeded in bringing all the tribesmen to submit to English sovereignty.[84]

Meanwhile, word having been sent to Fort Pitt, Capt. Thomas Stirling,[85] with a company of the 42nd infantry, passed down the Ohio. On his arrival at Fort Chartres, the French flag was lowered and the English ensign raised (October 10, 1765).[86] Two months later Maj. Robert Farmer, ascending the Mississippi from Mobile with a detachment of the 34th foot, relieved Captain Stirling, and became commandant of the Illinois.][87]

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[84] See "Croghan's Journal" in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, i, pp. 126–173.—Ed.

[85] Sir Thomas Stirling, Bart., was in 1757 commissioned captain of the 42nd (or Royal Highland) regiment. After serving under Abercrombie and Amherst (1758–60), the regiment was ordered to the West Indies, where Stirling was wounded. Returning to North America, they were ordered out with Bouquet, fought at Bushy Run, and having passed the winter at Fort Pitt, aided in the Ohio campaign of 1764. Stirling having taken possession of the Illinois, rejoined his regiment at Philadelphia after ten months' absence, and was publicly thanked for his services by the commander-in-chief. Stationed in Ireland (1767–76), Stirling became successively major and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and was ordered to America for service against the colonists. He was in the battle of Long Island (1776) and those of Brandywine and Germantown (1777); was brigadier-general under Clinton in the Charleston campaign (1780), and surrendered at Yorktown (1781). The following year he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 71st Highlanders. Later he was promoted to be general, and died in 1808.—Ed.

[86] For the minutes of taking possession of the Illinois, see *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, x, pp. 1161–1163.—Ed.

[87] Maj. Robert Farmer received his commission in the 34th foot, June 2, 1761. He was sent to take over West Florida from the French, and in October, 1763, received the surrender of Mobile. In 1765 he was ordered to the Illinois, where he arrived after a voyage of five months, and took over the command (Dec. 4, 1765) from Captain Stirling. Farmer was accompanied by Lieut. Philip Pittman, who has given us the earliest English account of the *Mississippi Settlements* (London, 1770). Farmer remained at the Illinois until 1767, when he returned to Mobile to answer charges against him. Vindicated by

1765-66: TRADER IN NORTHERN WISCONSIN

[Summary of Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, pp. 183-197.]

[Exclusive trade for the Lake Superior region was in the summer of 1765 accorded by the commandant of Mackinac to Alexander Henry,[88] who had returned with the former from Detroit. Accordingly this trader equipped himself with four canoes laden with goods, engaged twelve voyageurs, and on July 14 left that post for Sault Ste. Marie. There he took into partnership Jean Baptiste Cadotte, and setting forth upon Lake Superior arrived at Ontonagon River on August 19. He found there an Indian village, and purchased sturgeon for provisions. He likewise noted the masses of copper ore in the vicinity. Thence he passed to Iron River and in due time arrived at Chagouemig (Chequamegon) where he intended to winter. At this locality there was a large Chippewa village, whose people were nearly starving and naked, for the lack of traders to supply their needs. Henry was obliged to grant them the usual credit for goods, and the external appearance of these aborigines was soon transformed. He soon

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a court-martial (1768), he retired from the army and settled on a plantation on the Tensas, where he died in 1778.—Ed.

[88] Alexander Henry Sr. was a native of New Jersey (1739). In 1760 he became attached to Amherst's army, and after the capture of Montreal secured the second fur-trading permit for Mackinac, where he arrived in the autumn of 1761, not long before the installment of the English garrison. In 1763 he narrowly escaped the massacre, and after passing the winter at Sault Ste. Marie accompanied the Indians to the treaty at Niagara (1764), going back to Detroit with Bradstreet's army. Thence he returned with the English troops to Mackinac, and the following summer undertook a fur-trade adventure in Wisconsin. This not proving very profitable, Henry spent the succeeding years on the northern shorts of Lake Superior, forming (1770) a company for working the mines of the great lake. From 1775-76 he was in the far Northwest, returning to Montreal (1776) for the first time since his departure in 1761. Thenceforth he resided in that city until his death in May, 1824. For a more extended notice see James Bain (ed.), *Henry's Travels and Adventures*, editor's preface.—Ed.

erected a log house for winter quarters, and passed the cold months quietly, his chief food supply being fish, and his one amusement spearing them through the ice. The bay was frozen over by December 15, and not freed from ice until the twentieth of April. The principal excitement of the winter was the turbulent behavior of a band of Indians returning from their hunt. Having secured rum, they had a drunken frolic, in which a general pillage was threatened. Henry's firm attitude abashed the revellers, and he afterwards buried his entire store of liquor. A characteristic incident was a bear-hunt, followed by an eat-all feast that was in the nature of a religious ceremony. May 15, the chief body of Indians returned to this their metropolis, bringing trophies of their hunting and of a war expedition they had undertaken against the Sioux. After purchasing their furs, Henry returned to Mackinac, pausing en route to examine more carefully the copper deposits on the Ontonagon.]

1766: ROGERS TO LANGLADE

[Letter from Maj. Robert Rogers to Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MICHILIMAKANA Octr 15th 1766

SIR—This Letter will be delivered to you by Ruenabemonse (?) Chief of the Ottawas, and if it can be conveniently be done I should be exceeding glad you would send the enclosed Letter to Capt.n Tute by some Indian that may be going to the Mississipi.[89]

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[89] Capt. James Tute was one of the officers of the rangers under Rogers, and was captured while on a scout from Fort Edward in 1760. He was one of Rogers's agents in his conspiracy, and is credited with carrying matters with a high hand on the Mississippi, giving gorgets to the Indians inscribed with fleurs-de-lis, and making numerous chiefs—letter in Johnson MSS., xv, p. 125, in New York State Library, furnished by the courtesy of A. J. F. van Laer, archivist. See reference

I have nothing materially New at this Place. The Indians are mostly gone hunting. Some few of the Missasaugas are here who have just returned from a War expedition to the Westward, but without Success.

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

ROBT. ROGERS.[90]

To Lieutenant Langlead at La Baye.[91]

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to Tute in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 229; *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 33, where the name is spelled "Stoote;" as likewise in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, p. 992; and Rogers's *Journals*, p. 239 (misspelled Tate). His conduct is said to have discredited the English traders at Prairie du Chien.—ED.

[90] For brief sketch of Maj. Robert Rogers see *ante*, p. 223, note 89. Rogers arrived at Mackinac late in August, 1766, upon an appointment as its commandant, secured in England. He was little approved by his American superiors, but at once conciliated the traders, and secured a large stock of goods to be exchanged on his own account. He had a number of agents throughout the Western country. Just what his plans may have been, it is not now possible to say. He was in correspondence with one Capt. Joseph Hopkins, in French employ, and seems to have had some idea of delivering over his post to French or Spanish intriguants. His actions being reported to the authorities by one of his tools, Nathaniel Potter, and by Lieut. Benjamin Roberts, commissary of Indian affairs at the post, with both of whom he had quarrelled, General Gage sent orders to Capt. Frederick Spiesmacher, second in command, to supersede Rogers and place him under arrest. These orders reached Mackinac after the winter season had set in. Rogers was arrested; but in the absence of conveyance to the lower country, he was kept at the post. In January he entered into a desperate plot to gain his freedom and retake his own post; further, with the aid of the Indians, he thought to capture Detroit and Illinois, and plunder all the English traders. A French interpreter, Joseph Ainse, revealed this conspiracy to Spiesmacher, who had Rogers and his servant placed in irons, and sent to Montreal, where they arrived in June, 1768. In the summer of that year, a court-martial acquitted Rogers of the charge of treason, largely for lack of evidence. For documents bearing on this curious affair, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 27–37; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 988–994, 997–1002; Rogers's *Journals*, Appendix C.; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 224–233; and *Documentary Hist. of N. Y.*, ii, pp. 500–515.

[91] The title of lieutenant, here given to Langlade, may have indicated

1766-67: TRAVELS IN WISCONSIN

[Summary of the journey of Jonathan Carver in Wisconsin, from *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the years 1766, 1767 and 1768* (London, 1778)[92], pp. 17-180.]

[Jonathan Carver[93] left Boston in June, 1766. Going westward via Albany and Niagara, he made his way to Michilimackinac, which he reached some time in August, soon after

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such rank in the British Indian service; but nothing has as yet been found in contemporary documents to show that he had at this time entered the English service. Possibly the title is used by courtesy, because of his rank in the French Canadian army.—Ed.

[92] Few books of travel have had a more astonishing popularity than this. In his "Jonathan Carver," in Parkman Club *Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896), John G. Gregory enumerates twenty-one editions, with translations into German, French, and Dutch. The first (or 1778) edition, and that of 1781, with additional notes on the author, are bibliographical rarities. The popularity of the work really rested upon a slender basis of value. Travellers following in his footsteps within the region described by Carver, noted his faults and his errors (for instance, see Peter Pond's journal, *post*). Indeed, the latter portion of the work, describing Indian customs and manners, has clearly been proven to be but a medley of selections from the writings of Lahontan, Hennepin, Charlevoix, and Adair—see E. G. Bourne, "The Travels of Jonathan Carver," in *American Historical Review*, xi, pp. 287-302. Dr. Bourne concludes that Carver, who was an ignorant man, quite incapable of writing such a book, fell into the hands of booksellers in London, and from his journals (possibly something in form like those of his fellow-colonist, Peter Pond, *post*) some literary hack drew up the *Travels* in the form in which we have them. Carver's book is really of comparatively little worth, save where corroborated by other and more reliable testimony. But as the work has so long been famous, is so frequently alluded to by Western writers, and is the first record we possess of an English traveller in these regions, we publish a summary; this should, however, be carefully compared with Pond's account of a journey over much the same path, seven years later.—Ed.

[93] Of material for a biography of Jonathan Carver, but little exists that may be counted trustworthy. See article by Professor Bourne, cited in preceding note. The traveller was apparently born in Connecticut, and married there in 1746—his birth could hardly have been at the accepted date (1732). Instead of being as he claims, educated

the arrival of the new commandant Maj. Robert Rogers. The latter, who had known Carver in the French and Indian War, let him have some trading goods, and in company with a party of other traders he left the fort on September 3, arriving on the 18th at Fort La Baye. This building was much decayed, not having been garrisoned since Gorrell's departure three years previous. A few families were living in the fort, on the west side of the Fox, while on the east side were some considerable farms.

September 20, the trading cortege advanced up the Fox, arriving at the Winnebago town on Doty's Island five days later. Here a "queen," instead of a sachem, presided over the tribe—an ancient woman, small in stature and undistinguished in dress.[94] Carver thought the Winnebago had migrated from New Mexico. They spoke a harsh, guttural jargon. Thence the travellers proceeded along Winnebago Lake, and twelve miles from the island at the site of the modern Oshkosh, entered the upper Fox and followed its windings

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for a physician, he appears in fact to have been a shoemaker, and to have joined a Massachusetts company of rangers as a private. Even his presence at the siege of Fort William Henry, which has been graphically described under his name, must be doubted. No contemporary evidence has yet been produced to show that he was ever a captain, or held any official rank in the French and Indian War. His visit to the West (1766-68) is quite probable, but the motive therefor does not appear. Unless he was a trader, which he disclaims, he must have been an agent of Rogers, and there is some evidence inclining one to that view. See references cited in note 89 *ante*. He no doubt joined Rogers in London after the latter's acquittal. Possibly encouraged by Rogers's previous success as a publisher, Carver had his own notes of travel worked up into a book, as described in the preceding note. That his services in geographical exploration were recognized to the extent of a gratuity of thirteen hundred pounds (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 251), is extremely improbable; if so, why did he die "absolutely and strictly starved" in January, 1780? Carver was an adventurer of a type frequently found on the frontier; and has long enjoyed unearned literary and historical fame.—Ed.

[94] For this chieftess see note in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 224.—Ed.

to the Fox-Wisconsin carrying-place (the Portage of today), passing a smaller Winnebago village en route. The valley of the Fox, declares Carver, was the former home of the Outagami and Sauk.

The carrying-place was about a mile and three-quarters in length, and there resided Pinnisance who told our traveller a remarkable story of an Indian who possessed a rattlesnake that he had tamed and worshipped.[95] Carver noted the wild rice spreads and the abundance of wild fowl on the upper Fox, and mentions the fertility and beauty of the country.

Embarking on the Wisconsin (October 8), they arrived the next day at the great town of the Sauk, a large, well-built village of ninety houses consisting of plank with bark covering.[96] About three hundred warriors comprised their war-parties, that frequently made incursions among the Illinois and Pawnee. Carver mentions "mountains" some fifteen miles southward, where lead ore is found—the Blue Mounds and similar lead-bearing hills. The next day they reached the first town of the Outagamie,[97] which was nearly deserted because of the prevalence of an epidemic.

About five miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin, the ruins of another large town were seen; it had been deserted for thirty

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[95] For the origin of this story, and the imposition upon Carver therewith, see Pond's journal, *post*. Pond likewise gives a short biographical sketch of this early inhabitant of the portage, whom he calls "Old Pinnashon." Gorrell gave him a good character in 1763—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 37, 41; and Grignon (*Id.*, iii, pp. 261–263) relates some of his later adventures.—Ed.

[96] This was the village near the modern site of Prairie du Sac. This large town, whose fine appearance is described by both Carver and Pond, was probably built in the decade 1740–50; see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proc.*, 1907, p. 181. It continued to be occupied until the close of the Revolution, when it was abandoned from fear of the Chippewa, and the inhabitants removed to the Mississippi; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 80.—Ed.

[97] The Outagami (Fox) village was probably near Muscoda; see *Id.*, vi, p. 225, and the location given in Pond's journal, *post*.—Ed.

years, for superstitious reasons. The native inhabitants had then built a town on the Mississippi at La Prairies les Chiens (or Dog Plains), where there were now three hundred families.[98] Horses were to be seen here. The village was the site of a great mart, it being a neutral trading ground, even for tribes elsewhere at war.

At Yellow River, the traders took up winter quarters, and Carver with two servants began ascending the Mississippi in a small canoe. November 1, he entered Lake Pepin and remarked the ruins of a French factory where Captain St. Pierre formerly resided.[99] In this neighborhood he noted and described some Indian mounds.

Near the St. Croix, Carver first met the Sioux, whom he calls Naudowessie Indians, and mediated between them and a band of hostile Chippewa.[1] Thirty miles below the falls of St. Anthony he passed the cave later given his name. At St. Pierre (or Wadapawmenesotor) River[2] he left his canoe, because of ice, and travelled on foot to the falls, where he was impressed with the devotions of a Winnebago "prince." Con-

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[98] There appears to have been a Fox Indian, known to the French as "Le Chien" (Dog), from whom this village took its name. Little, however, is known of this chieftain, and that is traditionary. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 283, 293.—Ed.

[99] Yellow River is a small stream in Allamakee County, Iowa, emptying into the Mississippi about two miles above Prairie du Chien.

For this Sioux post see *ante*, p. 33, note 49. St. Pierre was commandant here, 1734–37; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 267–274. For its location, see *Id.*, x, pp. 371, 372. It would seem probable, from traditional evidence, that Marin's fort (1750–56) was on the east bank of Lake Pepin; *Id.*, ix, p. 286.—Ed.

[1] Carver's connection with the peace claimed to have been arranged between the Sioux and Chippewa, would seem to indicate that he may have been concerned in Rogers's plot. Sir William Johnson, in particular, animadverts against the great expense incurred in adjusting this peace and its temporary character; consult, *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 966, 969, 989, viii, p. 94; and Rogers's *Journals*, pp. 222, 227.—Ed.

[2] For an early expedition to St. Peter's River, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 286–300.—Ed.

tinuing north as far as the St. Francis, passing Rum River on the way, he reached on November 25, the point where he had left his canoe. Thence he mounted the St. Pierre for about two hundred miles[3] and dwelt seven months among the Naudowessie, where he was occupied with geographical inquiries. Returning in April, accompanied by a large delegation of tribesmen whom he had persuaded to visit Mackinac, they held on May 1, a council in the cave before noted, in which complimentary speeches were exchanged.[4]

Finding no trading goods at St. Anthony Falls, as had been promised him by the governor of Mackinac, Carver determined to return to La Prairies les Chien and secure some from the traders there. En route he met a Chippewa band headed by the Grand Sautor[5] who treated the Englishman with disdain, but offered him no violence. Having at last secured a stock of goods, our traveller returned to Chippewa River engaged an Indian pilot, and mounted the eastern branch to the falls. He there noted the great war road of the Sioux and Chippewa, and observed a tract of timber levelled by a hurricane. At the head of Chippewa River was a town of that tribe, with a hundred stout, fine young warriors. Their customs, however, were very filthy.[6]

In July Carver left this town, crossing to a head branch of the St. Croix, on which he saw mines of virgin copper. Thence carrying again, he descended to Lake Superior by a river that

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[3] But see Pond's declaration as to the location of Carver's hut, about fourteen miles up St. Peter's River, and that this was the extent of his travels.—Ed.

[4] It was on this occasion, as later claimed, that the celebrated "Carver's Grant" was made. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 238-270.—Ed.

[5] For the Grand Sauteur (whose Indian name was Minavavana), chief of the Mackinac Island band of Chippewa, see *Henry's Travels*, index.—Ed.

[6] This Chippewa town cannot definitely be located, but was near Lac Court Oreilles, still the habitat of the tribe. According to tradition, as given in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, the Chippewa, moved into this region in the latter years of the French regime.—Ed.

he named Goddard's[7] arriving at the close of July in West Bay, whence he coasted to Grand Portage, on the northwest shore of the lake. This northwest Wisconsin region was called by the Indians Moschettoe [mosquito] country, because of the abundance of those insects.

At Grand Portage he met Assinipoil and Killistinoe Indians, who gave him information of the far Northwest which he details at some length. Returning by the northern shore of Lake Superior the traveller arrived at Cadotte's fort at Sault Ste. Marie, whence he leisurely returned to Michillimackinac, reaching there the beginning of November after fourteen months' absence. The winter having set in, Carver tarried at this post in good company[8] until the following June, when he left for Detroit, thence departing for Boston.]

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[7] James Stanley Goddard was one of the earliest traders from Montreal to reach the upper country. By the summer of 1761 he was at Mackinac, and accompanied Lieutenant Gorrell to Green Bay, whence he was driven by the disturbance of 1763. The re-establishment of British authority found him again in the Northwest, where for many years he was a prominent merchant. About 1777 he was commissioned general storekeeper for the government, at Montreal, and was in that position as late as 1795. The river to which Carver gave his name was probably the Bois Brulé of Douglas County, Wis. This stream had been part of the portage route between the Mississippi and Lake Superior since Duluth's time, who used it as early as 1680. Goddard was one of Rogers's agents, of whom it was written "They have found Out the River that Runs from Lake Superior to the Mississippi"—Johnson MSS., as cited in note 89 *ante*.—Ed.

[8] The omission, on Carver's part, of the stirring events at Mackinac in the winter of 1767–68, when Rogers was arrested, kept in irons, and the entire settlement full of excitement, would give rise to the suspicion of his desire to conceal these occurrences. He speaks merely of the tranquil pleasure of fishing, and the passing of the time in pleasant company.—Ed.

1767: CERTIFICATE TO A MENOMINEE

[Testimonial of Maj. Robert Rogers to Okimasay, dated July 3, 1767. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MICHILLIMAKINAC, the 3rd July, 1767.

By Robert Rogers, Esq.r Major and Commandant of his Majesty's Garrison of Michillimakinac & its dependencies. &.c &.c &.c

Okimasay Folle Avoine having given to me and my Predecessors on many Occasions marks of his Attachment to the English Nation, and of his abilities in managing Affairs with regard to his Majesty among the Other Nations who are his Neighboars as well as the one he belongs to and with whom he has Credit

Therefore to make known to the English as well as the Indians how much we are satisfied with him. [MS. torn] and of his Great Service [MS. torn] with this warrant.

Recommending all the King of England's subjects who may meet with him to give him marks of their Friendship as it concerns the public tranquility in preserving the Indians Interest to his most Sacred Majesty—and order the said Okimasay to inform me of the affairs that may come to his knowledge and to give Advice to me or to the officers that may hereafter command at this post thereof, or at any time, any that may be sent amongst them, He having this day before me, entered into the strongest Engagements of [MS. torn] with his Brittish Majesty & for which I return him this Testimony of my Esteem

ROB.t ROGERS

1767: TRADE AT LA BAYE

[Extract from a memoir submitted to the Board of Trade by Sir William Johnson. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vii, pp. 974, 975.]

But on the other side we have now no post beyond *Detroit* except *Michilimackinac,* which tho' a place of much Trade and advantagiously situated, is far from answering the convenien-

cies of the Indians to the Westward. The Post at *La Baye* on the West side of *Lake Michigan,* the Indians have desired to be reestablished, and it is so well situated by reason of the Water communication, with very little interruption to the Mississipi, and so well calculated for all the Indians West of the Lake Michigan, that it deserves to be taken much notice of. At present affairs there are likely to be very troublesome on account of a claim laid to that post and a considerable district around it by a Gentleman of the name of *Grant* in virtue of a purchase, said to be made of Mr *Rigaud de Vadreuille* whose title, if any he had, was of little weight, and the whole of the transaction as laid before me by the Merchants of Canada appears to have been a piece of artifice huddled up about the time of the surrender of Canada, (or rather much later,) as the Commander in Chief is of opinion some steps were ordered to be taken to render the Claim invalid, and unless it is soon done, it will greatly affect the Indian Affairs, and trade of that quarter.

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But all these garrisons will not be alike exposed to that dependence; La Baye the most important of any I have mentioned can receive all its supplys in the King's ships which go to *Michilimackinac* without additional expence or risque.

[Letter from Cardin to Augustin Langlade, dated Aug. 16, 1767. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.[9]]

From Michillimaknac August 16, 1767.

Sir—I wish above all things monsieur that The present letter may find you well, and all your amiable family in perfect health. I am flattered to inform you that Chaboiller has

[9] This letter, found among the Langlade Papers and alluded to in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 220, is there misdated (1763 for 1767), and by the then Editor was considered "entirely illegible." It is, however, here deciphered, translated, and given in proper chronological order.—Ed.

placed in my hands a full authority coming from you with a memoir of the goods, but As The power of attorney is not in my name I cannot use it to the best advantage, moreover As He does not appear to desire to undertake your arrangements Therefore I Request you to intrust some other person therewith. I have had your house advertised for sale, but when I saw that it would not go according to my wish and that there were no buyers I thought Best to put off the sale Until I could know your Sentiments. Of all the Effects mentioned in your memoir I have found Nothing but a little [word illegible] in very Bad condition and the feather bed that Bourassa tells me belongs to you For the Rest no one knows what has become of them. You speak to me also of one to whom you have given or sold a little Stable that is very strong. It belongs to everyone here, not having been let or sold Send me word and I will put my hand Upon Everything that will bring any money

If you find me Capable of Being of Use in any Thing do not forget that you will oblige One who is with Respect Monsieur Your very humble and very obedient servant

CARDIN

My wife and I embrace our mamma without forgetting Mr. and Mde. Langlade, and all Their family. My family presents you with their respects. I have just Received a small feather bed from Bourassa that I will Keep until word from you.

Monsieur Langlade the Elder at la Baye.

1768: WESTERN FUR-TRADE

[Letter from Sir Guy Carleton [10] to Lord Shelburne, dated March 2, 1768. Reprinted from *Canadian Archives*, 1887, pp. clxx, clxxi.]

QUEBEC, 2nd March, 1768.

MY LORD—I have received your Lordship's letter of the 14th November, and one since, wrote from the Office by your

[10] Guy Carleton (1724–1808) began his career as a soldier, coming

directions, dated the 8th of October last; The Drawing hereto annexed[11] is taken from the different maps and the best memoirs and relations I have hitherto been able to procure; 'tis intended chiefly to show the Western Posts which the French formerly occupied, and how far they extend beyond Michilimackinac, this end I believe it answers tolerably well, tho' their exact Positions on the Globe must be erroneous, as I have not met with any of those Gentlemen, who understand the use of any Mathematical Instrument, but they all agree that Pascoyat[12] is two and a half or three months journey beyond Michilimackinac, and reckon the distance about nine hundred leagues, probably this is far beyond the true distance, as they follow the serpentine course of Lakes and River. The River on which Pascoyat stands, is said to be five hundred leagues long, a Fort was erected one hundred leagues beyond Pascoyat, but I have not Information enough, to put either the Fort or the full extent of the River on the Map.

The annexed return of the French Posts, of the Troops for the Protection of Trade, with the number of canoes sent up in the year 1754, shews in some measure the Extent of the Trade, and the System pursued by the French Government in Indian affairs; they did not depend on the Number of Troops, but on the Discretion of their Officers, who learned the language of the Natives, acted as Magistrates, compelled the Traders to deal equitably, and distributed the King's Presents; by this conduct they avoided giving jealousy, and gained the affections of an ignorant, credulous, and brave People, whose ruling Passions are Independence, Gratitude and Revenge, with an unconquerable Love of strong Drink, which must prove destructive to them, and the Fur Trade, if permitted to be sent among them; thus managing them by address, where force could not

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to Canada with Wolfe. Appointed governor of the colony (1766), he retained that position until 1778, returning with the title of Lord Dorchester, to be governor from 1786 to 1796.—Ed.

[11] The drawing was not with the letter.—*Note in Original.*

[12] For this post see *ante*, p. 186, note 35.—Ed.

avail, they reconciled them to their troops, and by Degrees strengthened the Posts at Niagara, Detroit and Michillimackinac without giving offence.

The country was divided into certain Districts and the only Restraints laid on Traders were, first, not to go beyond the Bounds of that District they obtained Passes for, and secondly, not to carry more Spirituous Liquors than was necessary for their own use, nor sell any of that to the Indians; the King's Posts, or rather the Intendant's, were the only ones excepted from this general Rule.

Under these Regulations the canoes went first to the Post of the District, from whence they had full liberty to go among the Indians, and accompany them to their hunting grounds; they likewise called on their return; if any were ill-treated they complained to the Commandant, who assembled the Chiefs, and procured redress. The Savages also made their complaints, and obtained immediate satisfaction—an exact report of all which was sent to the Governor. This Return may be depended upon for so much as it contains, but as the King of France was greatly concerned in all this Trade, a Corrupt Administration did not think it their Interest, that all these Matters should appear in a full, clear and lasting Manner.

Your Lordship will be pleased to observe that the great Inletts, to the North-East from the Mississippi, are by the Ohio, and from thence up the Ouabach, which leads towards the Sources of the River Miamis and Lake Erie; by the Illinois, that leads to Fort St. Joseph, and Lake Michigan; and the Ouisconsing, that leads to Fox River and Bay des Puans; besides these different streams that run into the Missisipi carry them towards Lake Superior and the Western Lakes.

The French or Spaniards have a settlement two hundred and fifty Leagues above New Orleans at Arkonka [Arkansas], which serves for a deposit, and three, opposite to Fort Chartres, formed since the Conquest;[13] from these Magazines they

[13] Ste. Geneviève, St. Louis, and St. Charles, for which see succeeding documents.—Ed.

are enabled with Ease to transport their Merchandise into the interior Parts of the King's Territory to the North of the Mississipi, and to the Western Lakes; while even the extra Provincial Canadians, in the neighbourhood of our Posts, particularly at Detroit, and those scattered about the Country, rather buy the Goods that come from New Orleans, tho' at a higher Price, than submit to the great Restraints on Trade at our Posts.

I shall easily find in the Troops here many Officers and Men very ready to undertake to explore any Part of this Continent, who require no other encouragement than to be told such service will be acceptable to the King, and if properly executed will recommend them to his Favour; but as they are unacquainted with the Country, the Indian Language and Manners, 'tis necessary to join with them some Canadians, to serve as Guides and Interpreters. The Gentlemen here are mostly poor and have families, in Order to induce them to attach themselves thoroughly to the King's interests 'tis necessary they should be assured of their being taken into His Service for Life, and in case they perish on these Expeditions, that their Widows will enjoy their Pay, to support and educate their Children.

Should His Majesty think proper to allow the Traders to go up to the Western Lakes, as formerly, I think a Party might winter in one of those Posts, set out early in Spring for the Pacific Ocean, find out a good Port, take its Latitude, Longitude, and describe it so accurately as to enable our Ships from the East Indies to find it out with ease, and then return the year following; Your Lordship will readily perceive the advantage of such Discoveries, and how difficult attempts to explore unknown Parts must prove to the English, unless we avail ourselves of the knowledge of the Canadians, who are well acquainted with the Country, the Language and Manners of the Natives.

Your Lordship has likewise herewith inclosed the observation of the Traders here on Sir William Johnson's Regulations, to-

gether with a Petition they presented to me at the same time; I was rather displeased at some of the expressions they made use of in their Observations, but on close examination, found it was more owing to their not sufficiently understanding the force of their own words, than to any unwillingness to submit to proper Orders and Regulations, for which they seem at present to be perfectly disposed.

I am with much Respect and Esteem, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

GUY CARLETON.

The Earl of Shelburne, One Of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c.

1768: LICENSE FOR ILLINOIS PRIEST

[Permit to Father Pierre Gibault, dated June 1, 1768. MS. in Chicago Historical Society.]

By the Hon. Guy Carleton, Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief of the Province of Quebec, Brigadier General Commanding His Majesty's Forces in the Northern District.

The commander in chief of His Majesty's Forces in North America having been pleased to approve of a Priest from this Province repairing to the Illinois for the comfort and satisfaction of the King's Roman Catholic subjects in those parts, who, it is hoped, will entertain a due sense of the care (he) sheweth for their interests.

These are therefore to permit the Rev. Pierre Gibault[14] a

[14] Pierre Gibault was christened at Montreal April 7, 1737, and entered the priesthood March 9, 1768. Destined for the Illinois, he was appointed vicar-general thereof, and reached Mackinac on his outward route in July of that year. There he ministered to the inhabitants, who had been without the sacraments since the retirement of Father du Jaunay. Gibault had been sent to the Tamarois mission in Cahokia, but finding that in a ruinous condition he was soon established as parish priest at Kaskaskia. Thence he travelled to all of the

missionary priest, who has taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, together with Marie Gibault his Mother and Louise Gibault his sister, to pass from hence to the Illinois by way of Michilimakinac in a canoe with the baggage to them belonging; without hinderance or molestation; in which all officers commanding at the several Forts and Posts, within the Northern district, are required, as those without said district are desired to be aiding and assisting to him, in forwarding him to his aforementioned destination, He as well as the people with him, behaving as becometh.

Given under our hand and seal At Montreal this 1st Day of June 1768 By the Brig. Gen'ls command.

GUY CARLETON.
H. T. CRAMAHÉ.

1768: LAKE SUPERIOR COPPER MINES

[Extract from a letter by Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated Johnson Hall, Dec. 20, 1768. Reprinted from *Documentary History of New York* (Albany, 1850), ii, p. 533.]

I now proceed to consider the subject of your Lordship's letter and the papers therewith transmitted. And first, as to the Ore. I have long since been well assured that there is not only a large Quantity of Copper Ore in the Environs of Lake Superior, but that on trials made on Samples of it, some of which

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Illinois villages, as well as Ouiatanon and Vincennes. In 1775, Father Gibault made a visit to Canada. Returning via Mackinac, he again ministered there for a month, and then spent the winter in Detroit. His influence over his Illinois and Indian parishioners was sufficient to bring them to the American side in the Revolution, during which he acted in concert with George Rogers Clark, rendering the latter efficient aid. No reward or compensation was made for his services, nor for the property that he expended for the American cause. As late as 1791 he was officiating at Cahokia. Thence he withdrew to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, and finally settled at New Madrid, where he probably died. See Illinois Historical Society *Transactions*, 1905, pp. 15–34.—ED.

I have seen, it has been found extraordinary good and rich.[15] I likewise about 3 years ago saw an Estimate of the Expenses of taking up, & transporting &c. the most accessible of that Ore, of which I am well assured there are to all appearances entire Rocks; but this Estimate, which I have unluckily mislaid, was, to the best of my Recollection founded on the expectation that it wo^d^. Continue to be obtained with very great ease, and that it could be transported, Refined &c. at rates which from the increased Value of Labour &c. in Canada since the reduction of that Country may now be much doubted, admitting that the Vein of Ore would continue equally rich and accessible. I have likewise understood that the Indians themselves would at a very trifling rate procure large Quantitys of it, to which I may answer that the Indians are a Lazy people, & naturally Enemies to Labour, and therefore it is much to be doubted whether interesting them in it would be attended with advantage, altho' the Ind^s^. of that Country can be satisfied on much more reasonable terms than those who are more accustomed to receive favors from Europeans, particularly the French. I have also heard that some persons in Canada did formerly bring away a good deal of Ore from thence, and that they lost by it, but whether this was owing to the Expense of bringing it down, or to bad management I can't say. The River Ottawa being obstructed by 42 Portages, small and great, would much retard & Enhance the transportation of so heavy an article, & give place to the carrying it by the Lakes as the most Elligible, notwithstanding the latter are at some seasons very uncertain & the navigation often tedious. The length and severity of the winter at Lake Superior will likewise require consideration both with regard to the provision to be made for those that

[15] In 1770 Johnson joined a company for the working of these mines, the field partners of which were Alexander Henry, Alexander Baxter, and Henry Bostwick; in England, several prominent noblemen were also interested. Henry details their attempts at mining, and the failure of the scheme in 1773. See his *Journal*, pp. 217–229; and *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 37, 38.—Ed.

sho^{d}. remain there & for their Cattle & Beasts of Burthen, and the very low wages of Battoemen & all Labourers in the time of the French when compared with the usual hire at this time, is also a matter that sho^{d}. be attended to.

1769: FEAR OF INDIAN CONSPIRACY

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the colonial secretary, dated June 26, 1769. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii, pp. 173, 174.]

I have already observed that I shall forthwith execute the orders transmitted in your Lordship's letter in the best manner I can, as I shall every part of my Duty particularly endeavouring to discover the designs of all secret enemies who by their machinations threaten us with danger, among other instances of which I find from the examination of a man who is lately returned from the Mississippi and well acquainted with several of their proceedings, that Indians arrived last January at the place where he wintered, who brought belts from the French Settlements, which were immediately forwarded thro the Nations to the Lakes, the purport of which tho kept very private was to promote a Union for the execution of some plan & that those Messingers made particular enquiry concerning the strength and number of men at the out posts. There has been likewise an Alarm at Detroit which put a stop to the Traders going to the Westward for some time & occasioned the Inhabitants to fortify themselves, this seems to have arisen from the claims the Indians have to the possessions of sundry French Inhabitants at that place, but tho their apprehensions are at present somewhat abated, there is good reason to think they are far from being over, from the concurring Acc^{ts} from all Quarters amongst w^{h} I have just received Information from Detroit communicated by *Huron Andrew* an Indian of good sense much respected for his attachment & services to us, that Monsr *Vercher* formerly

a French Officer[16] who was trading last winter at Sandusky on Lake Erie without leave had distributed two belts with two kegs of rum amongst the Hurons, desireing them to retain their courage for that they would soon see their old French Father when they would have occasion for it. These things are so common that the best disposed Indians become poisoned with their principles, and all this arises from the want of proper regulations for Trade & the pernicious practice of permitting the worst sort of men to go where they please into the Indian Country.

[Extract from a letter from George Butricke,[17] dated Fort Chartres, June 27, 1769. Reprinted from *Historical Magazine* (New York, 1864), viii, p. 264.]

We have been all this Spring, under the greatest apprehension of an Indian Warr, we had it from all quarters that several nations had entered into a League to strike the English in the Illinois Country, this Spring, Col. Wilkins[18] on this informa-

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[16] Probably Louis Jarret, Sieur de Verchères, who was second ensign in the Canadian troops (1756), being promoted to be first ensign the following year. After the British conquest, he elected to remain in Canada. His widow died in Quebec in 1792.—Ed.

[17] George Butricke, apparently of English birth, was quartermaster of the 46th infantry (1764), being stationed at Niagara. In 1767 he was transferred to the 18th (or Royal Irish) regiment, and the following year accompanied his troops to Fort Chartres, where he was in garrison until 1771, serving at that place not only as quartermaster but adjutant and barrack-master. He retained his position in the regiment until 1778. His letters from the Illinois are interesting as side-lights on certain conditions during the command of Col. John Wilkins.—Ed.

[18] Col. John Wilkins, an English officer who entered the army in 1755 as captain of the 55th infantry. In 1762 he was serving as major, unattached to a specific regiment, and was in command at Niagara during the troubled years of 1763–64. Attempting to relieve the siege of Detroit he was driven back, first by a hostile attack, then by a severe storm. In 1764 he became major of the 60th (or Royal Americans), and the next year was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel

tion very prudently filled all the stores with provisions and sent an Officer with the arm'd Boat to get in a quantity of Wood which was happily effected in a very short time and now we have 280 cords piled up under the Walls of the Fort and we can now bid defiance to all the Indians in America,—the 16th April a party of the Kickapoes broke into a house in this Village; surprised a soldier and his Wife in Bed, scalp'd both and got off without the least hurt; and the 14th May another party of Sax and Reynards attacked some of the Indians that live near this fort killed six, and Carried off their scalps, these strokes alarmed us much, obliged us to keep constantly in the Fort, & watch Night and day, Its now said the stroke intended against us will be in the harvest time, But I am of an Opinion it will blow over for this time or we should have had more of it before now.

[Extract from a letter from Sir William Johnson to the colonial secretary, dated Aug. 26, 1769. Reprinted from *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, viii, pp. 184, 185.]

And tho the effects of all this [disturbances in western Pennsylvania and Virginia] have not been sensibly felt for some time, they at length begin to make their appearance particularly about the Illinois, Ohio &c of which your Lordship will doubtless receive Information from the Commander in Cheif, the Indians having killed several people, attacked & plundered several Traders boats, & in short blocked up the com-

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of the 18th (or Royal Irish), stationed for a time in Philadelphia. In 1768 Wilkins received orders to set out with seven companies to garrison Fort Chartres, being appointed commandant for the Illinois. Proceeding via Pittsburgh, the troops arrived at Kaskaskia, Sept. 5. Wilkins's administration was unpopular in Illinois; he seems to have been overbearing, and to have alienated both the French and English residents of the region. In September, 1771, charges were preferred against him and he was relieved of office, but did not leave Illinois until the following spring. Thence he made his way to Pensacola and England. He left the army at the close of 1775.—Ed.

munication of the Ohio, so that is no longer practicable for the Traders. Whilst at the same time they are endeavouring to form a more strict alliance than ever for purposes that are but too obvious, seeming only to wait the success of their negociations for the commencement of hostillities, and altho' upon these occasions they use much caution & secrecy, yet some part of their late conduct does not exactly agree with it, but shews an extraordinary degree of confidence from some quarter, of which the answer herewith inclosed to the speech of Lt Col Wilkins commanding at Ilinois furnishes some instances, to illustrate which I have annexed some notes, I have received a copy of the Speech of Monsr Verchere (formerly a French officer) to the Indians of Lake Erie, as now delivered by them, this speech was made known to me by some spies I have who with many others since positively affirms that he gave them a present in the name of the French King, and desired them to hold themselves in readiness, but on my communicating it to the General, who wrote concerning it to Canada, the Indians who esteem *Ver Chere* came to the Commandant at Detroit delivered up *Ver Cheres* belt & also the speech in the manner sent me which was evidently altered to prevent his meeting with punishment, nevertheless tho they have certainly suppressed much of what he said to them, enough remains, which to a man conversant in their idiom would be convincing proof without any thing farther. In short as I suspected and frequently represented would be the case, none but Frenchmen can go into their country to the Westward, & the Indians positively & publickly declare to all people that they will suffer no others into their country, I was informed that the French were at the bottom of the representations artfully prepared to get the general liberty for trading at large in the Indian country which I then observed was calculated for them to engross all.

[Extract from a letter from Ensign George Butricke, dated Fort Chartres, Dec. 29, 1769. Reprinted from *Historical Magazine*, viii, p. 265.]

We are now in a melancholy situation we have not had the Least Accounts from any Quarter since the first of June, 'Tis thought the Indians have Cut of the Expresses from fort Pitt on the River Ohio, and we have Acc^s by frenchmen from New Orleans that since the Spaniards have returned to that place they have forbid all English or french from Landing there, If this be true all our Communications are shutt up, the Indians are all out hunting now, But its said we shall certainly have an Indian Warr in the Spring.

1769: INDIANS AND SETTLEMENTS OF SPANISH ILLINOIS

[Report of Francisco Rui,[19] commandant of the Illinois, dated March 9, 1769. MS. in General Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Indian tribes: Report of the various tribes, who, according to my knowledge, are accustomed to receive presents in this district of Ylinneses. To wit:

1. Kaskaskias
2. Kaokias

[19] Capt. Francisco Rui (Rios) y Morales came to New Orleans in 1767, with Ulloa and the Spanish troops. He was soon sent to the Illinois, not to succeed Louis St. Ange in command at St. Louis, but to erect two forts at the mouth of the Missouri to defend the Spanish possessions, and keep control of the fur-trade on that river. He began to build one fort, but owing to difficulties with his subordinates it was decided to replace him by Piernas, who arrived at Ste. Geneviève Dec. 18, 1768, and at the new fort March 10. Rui thereupon went down the river to New Orleans, where he found the city in the hands of the revolutionists. The report here enclosed is that made to Piernas upon the delivery of the fort, concerning the tribes within his jurisdiction.—Ed.

3. Peorias
4. Metchigamia
All tribes of Ylinneses

5. Pranquichia [Piankishaw]
6. Orinanón [Ouiatanon]
7. Kikapu
8. Mascouten
9. Miami
All of the district of Ouabach.

10. Poutuatami
11. Sauteux
12. Outaoua
Of the river of San Joseph and of that of Ilinneses

13. Ayoona
14. Sioux
15. Saks
16. Renards
17. Sauteux
Of the district of the upper Misisipi

18. Misouris
19. Little Ausages
20. Big Ausages
21. Canse
22. Autoedata [Oto]
23. Panimahá
All of the district of the Misouri River

I certify that the tribes here above expressed are the same ones who are accustomed to come here to get presents. San Luis, May 2, 1769. SAINTE ANGE.

To the above tribes are added the tribe of Chaouanon and Losi, who are accustomed to come to get presents, although

rarely. These tribes belong to Detroit. San Luis, May 2, 1769. SAINTE ANGE.

Besides the above named tribes, sometimes the tribe called the Lautre [Loutre] and the Levation of Detroit are wont to come. May 2, 1769. SAINTE ANGE.

I certify that the tribes enumerated on the preceding page are those who generally come to ask and receive presents at this post of San Luis. May 2, 1769. LE FEBREU DEBRISEAU[20]

A copy of the original, which was presented before me, by Monsieur de Sainte Ange, commandant of the village of San Luis, and which is in my possession. Royal fort of San Carlos el Señor Principe de Asturias, March 10, 1769.[21]

FRANCISCO RUI

Instructions: Instructions prescribing the manner of holding councils and making presents to the Indian tribes, and various other advices which Don Francisco Rui y Morales, captain and commandant of the company of Luisiana, and military and civil governor of the Spanish settlements at the mouth of

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[20] Joseph Lefèbre d'Inglebert de Bruisseau was a native of France, coming to Louisiana with Marquis de Vaudreuil in 1743. The next year he proceeded to the Illinois, where he was a prominent citizen until removing to St. Louis with St. Ange in 1765. There he acted as judge and king's storekeeper until his death (April 3, 1767). The officer here mentioned may be his son, Pierre François Brunot Joseph d'Inglebert Lefèbre de Bruisseau, who succeeded his father as storekeeper, and died at New Orleans (1770), aged twenty-seven years.—ED.

[21] The discrepancy in dates is due to the fact that March 10, 1769, was the day on which Rui made over his command to Piernas; and May 2, 1769, was the date on which Piernas transferred the garrison to St. Louis. The fort here described was not completed. It was begun by Rui on a bluff on the south bank of the Missouri, fourteen miles above the St. Louis of that day. The site was chosen for the American fort named Bellefontaine, existing there from 1805 to 1826. See for this latter fort, Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, v, pp. 392, 393.—ED.

the Misouri River, left for the first lieutenant of the same company, Don Pedro Piernas, his successor,[22] according to the usual custom, by order of Don Antonio de Ulloa, governor and captain-general of this province.[23]

First: Every band of Indians shall be received in council upon their arrival at this post, and as soon as they have finished what they have to say, he shall answer that he is very glad that his children have taken the trouble to come to see him. Then he shall tell them that if they have brought any furs to trade with the traders, they shall do it forthwith, so that by doing so they may return sooner to their tribe. A day and hour shall be assigned to them for the commandant's answer to them; and for that time he shall have ready the present which is to be given to them. That present shall be placed before them, and they shall receive answer to as many matters as they discussed in the preceding council.

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[22] Pedro Piernas was a Spanish officer who had entered the army in 1747, and came to Louisiana with Ulloa. He was first made commandant of the fort at Natchez; but late in 1768 was ordered to relieve Rui at the Illinois. Having done so (March 10, 1769), Rui returned to New Orleans, and Piernas to St. Louis. There the latter received word of the revolution in New Orleans, and quietly yielded up all authority to St. Ange. The following year he was sent by O'Reilly to take over the command of Spanish Illinois from St. Ange, which was effected May 20, 1770. At this time he received the rank of lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois. There he remained for five years, then returned to New Orleans, where he was made lieutenant-colonel and commander of the colonial troops, a position that he was still holding in 1785. He married a French Creole, and was popular with that people.—Ed.

[23] Don Antonio de Ulloa was a savant and astronomer of much repute in Europe. Born at Seville in 1718, he went in 1736 to South America on an astronomical mission, and also acted as military and diplomatic agent. After several years of this employment, he was captured by the English on returning to Spain, but released (1746) at the instance of the Royal Society of London. His services were rewarded by appointment as superintendent of mines in Peru. In 1765 he was sent to take over Louisiana for the Spanish. Arriving at New Orleans March 5, 1766, he was coldly received, and soon alien-

Second: Whenever any party of Indians brings any scalps, and makes a present of them to the commandant of the post, he shall receive them and ask the Indians what tribe the above-mentioned scalps were taken from. By the reply, he will be able to tell whether they are the scalps of friendly tribes. If they are of a friendly tribe, he will restore them to those Indians. When he answers them he shall do it with the words of one who shows himself pleased, but shall say that he does not accept them as they are from a tribe with whom he lives in peace, and he shall put to them the following example: "If any tribe should bring me scalps from your tribe, would you yourselves be glad if I should receive them? I do not believe so." They will allow the reason of this, and will accept them without any complaint. But if the scalps should be from any tribe which declares war on us or from those whom we do not know because they are very far distant, then they may be received without any danger.

Third: Whenever any of the tribes living in this Spanish district declare war on any other tribe, either because of the theft of horses or for any other cause, the commandant shall endeavor to make peace, by speaking for that purpose to the head chiefs of both tribes, that is if they are willing. But if either of them insists on prosecuting the war, they must be allowed to do so, and to manage affairs for themselves.

Fourth: Whenever any hunter or trader complains of having been robbed by any tribe, a sworn report of the theft that he has suffered shall be taken from him, as well as the name of the nation that committed the theft, and he shall be asked whether he knows any of the robbers. Then when the chief of the tribe which has committed the theft happens to come to see the commandant, after the latter has heard whatever the chief has to say, and in case that he has brought with him the article that

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ated the minds of his new subjects, so that a rebellion arose, and he retired from his province in November, 1768. He was afterwards promoted to be admiral (1779), and was commandant at the Azores, dying in 1795 at Leon.—Ed.

was stolen by his nation, in order to restore it to its owner, the commandant shall put on an angry face, and shall tell him that if he does not bring the stolen article as soon as possible, necessarily he cannot look upon them as his true children, and that consequently, he will give them no present, and will not receive them until the stolen object is restored. This is the method of restraining them and of forcing them to make restoration. Since it has been the rule followed by the French commandants of this region for many years, without there being the slightest breath that any bad result has been attained by following this system, therefore the Indians are used to it.

Fifth: The commandant shall endeavor, by the means which he considers most advisable, to induce any band of Indians, either of this Spanish district or of the English district, who shall present themselves to him armed for war, and who shall tell in the council that they are going on the warpath, to leave the path which they are taking, and return to take that by which they have come in order that they might return to their tribe. This is a case in which it is customary to give them some gift greater than is usual, as that is the only means which can compel them to go back. But if they insist on their determination to continue the road, that they were taking, he shall allow them to do so.

Sixth: The presents and food that are given to each band of Indians of the tribes who are accustomed to come to this post shall be given to them in proportion to the number of people who come, according as the commandant may consider advisable, for there can be no fixed rule in this matter.

I am of the opinion that the things that I have expressed are the most important.

FRANCISCO RUI.

ROYAL FORT OF SAN CARLOS EL SEÑOR PRINCIPE DE ASTURIAS, March 9, 1769.

Note: Every council that is held with the Indians on important matters, especially the decision reached, shall be fully set down in writing, and shall be signed by the interpreter and

the persons who are present at it, that is, French or Spaniards, so that it may be a lasting record.

[Report of Pedro Piernas. Source, same as preceding document.]

As this [Fort San Carlos el Principe] has been, and is, the place of residence for the commandant, the near and distant Indian tribes, both those of the Misisipi River, and those of the Misouri and its branches, whose names are contained in the enclosed report, gather there. The season for their greatest gathering is during the months of May and June. At that time they descend the rivers in numerous parties with their traders to declare their furs. That is their first object, although it is accomplished with the condition of the pretext of visiting the chief and ratifying the friendship that has been established. All the time of their stay provisions are furnished them at the expense of the king, those provisions being reduced to bread and corn, for they provide themselves with meat; and when they depart one has to make them, as it is the established custom, a present, which is proportional to the number of each tribe. Most of the tribes, with the exception of some remote and distant tribes of the Misoury are accustomed to the use of brandy, and prefer a small portion of it to any other present of merchandise even of four times its value. If the savages are treated with kindness, reasonably, and with consideration, they are reasonable when in their right mind. But when drunk they are importunate, beggars, insatiable and tiresome. Yet the commandant must always be attentive to them, listen to them with patience, compose the differences and discords among the various tribes; sometimes make rulings and mediate in their peaces, with persuasions, sometimes with firmness, and most always with presents. Consequently, they are generally costly. But they cannot be so, if the presents are distributed little by little and with equity. That depends in part on a disinterested and vigilant commandant, a loyal interpreter, and a righteous

store-keeper, who prefer the service and interests of the king to their own.

The Misouri River empties into the Missisipi five leagues above Paincourt.[24] At the confluence of those rivers is located the Spanish fort of San Carlos el Principe at the order and arrangement of Governor Don Antonio de Ulloa in order that the illicit trade might be avoided and to prevent the English from establishing their trade in that part with the tribes comprehended in that distance.

In the short time of my residence in that post, there came to hold discussions the tribes of the Osages, Ayoua, Kikapu, Masasten, Pou, Putatami, Utoa, Putchicagu, Renad,[25] and others of the vicinity attracted both by the novelty of the arrival of a new commandant in order to receive their present which it is necessary by established custom to give them for that reason, and those with which the traders impose on them, being assured that they are indispensable to them, and in order to benefit the habitants of the settlements with the goods and products of the hunt. And although the latter are benefitted, it is the king who maintains the expense of the Indians' maintenance during their stay in the village, and he makes no profit from it. Since Don Antonio de Ulloa knew this, he ordered me to arrange for the gathering of the tribes for any matter, as well as the distribution of the annual presents, and the discussion etc., in the above-mentioned fort of San Carlos, where, as it was distant

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[24] Paincourt (short of bread) was a popular nickname for the village of St. Louis. Founded in the spring of 1764 by Pierre Laclède and Pierre Chouteau as a trading post for the Missouri River country, for which they had received a license, St. Louis grew rapidly by the immigration of French settlers from east of the Mississippi. When Fort Chartres was surrendered to the British (October, 1765), the French commandant retired with his garrison to St. Louis, and there established a temporary government, which continued until the Spanish took permanent possession in 1770.—Ed.

[25] Piernas was at Fort San Carlos el Principe less than two months (March–May, 1769). The tribes whose representatives visited him were, Osage, Iowa, Kickapoo, Mascoutin, Potawatomi (Pou and Putatami), Ottawa, Piankashaw, and Renards (Foxes).—Ed.

from the settlements, their stay would be but in passing, and consequently, there would be a great saving of food, whose consumption has hitherto been considerable, and therefore costly.

Having settled upon the method and manner prescribed by the instructions delivered to me by Don Francisco Rui in regard to the management of the tribes, which are the same as those found in the documents which I enclose, I shall try to fulfil the duties of my post, without any change in the established practice, so long as I continue in this employ.

The principal settlements of the English domain are located, one opposite to ours of Misera, with the name of Oká,[26] and although it is one league distant from the river, on a small river whence it is named, the boats can easily go there to discharge their cargoes. At a distance of five leagues above is located the settlement and fort of Chartres. It is constructed of stone and is remarkable for its size and large garrison; for the English usually maintain there a regular regiment of troops. But at that time they only had one battalion. The commandant of that battalion was also civil commander of all the British district. Another settlement called Kaó is located somewhat lower,[27] or almost opposite Paincourt. It resembles all the others which exist in the English district, whose inhabitants are French habitants who settled there before the cession made by France. At that time there were many of them, but now they have become less, because many of their families have left them to settle in our district. From those families have been formed and increased the settlements of Misera and Paincourt. In those set-

[26] The French town of Ste. Geneviève appears to have been the oldest Illinois village west of the Mississippi, having been founded some time before 1732. It was, in good-natured raillery by the neighboring villages, nicknamed Misère (poverty). In 1785 the old town was carried away by a flood, and the modern village built upon a bluff, about three miles from the original site. The town of Oká is Au Kaskaskia (at Kaskaskia), for which see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 49.—Ed.

[27] Cahokia, for which see *ante*, p. 89, note 32. The French settlers were much given both to abbreviations and nicknames.—Ed.

tlements I have acquired during my short stay the information that I present to your Excellency, in obedience to the orders that your Excellency considered it advisable to give me.

PEDRO PIERNAS

NUEVA ORLEANS, October 31, 1769.

1773: AFFAIRS AT MACKINAC AND IN WISCONSIN

[Letter from Capt. John Vattas[28] to Gen. Thomas Gage. From Haldimand Papers, B 70, p. 55; reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 299.]

MICHILIMACKINAC, May 16th, 1773.

SIR—I have the honor to enclose to you Returns of the state of Ordnance & Engineers Stores together, with one of Provisions, the Store House is very near finished, already contains the greater part of them, & I hope to inform your Excellency by next opportunity of its being complete, I received a Barrel of Nails from Detroit which not answering for shingles, obliged me to take others out of the Engineers Stores, & have made them fit for that use, as it would otherwise have been impossible to go on with the Building, I have also provided near eight hundred Pickets for the Post, three hundred of which have been already placed in the room of others, entirely decayed; The winter from the accounts of the Savages that visited us in the course of it has been remarkably hard, insomuch that many of them scarce kept from starving, I am sorry to find these con-

[28] John Vattas (Vatass), apparently of Irish extraction, became captain in the 10th infantry May 5, 1760. This regiment came to Boston in 1768, being stationed there until the evacuation in March, 1776. Vattas was promoted to a majority in the same regiment (Jan. 13, 1776), and had left the army by 1778. How long he was stationed at Mackinac is uncertain. He was relieved of the command at that place by De Peyster in 1774, and probably returned to his regiment in Boston, where no doubt he was in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.—ED.

firmed by others come in from a greater Distance, with the additional circumstance of some being reduced to feed on Human Flesh. However many being not yet arrived, I shall not take it upon me to give it to your Excellency for truth, no more than about some Traders loosing their lives about La Bay; as I understand their Rumours frequently spread here, at this season, to answer private ends, I shall lose no time in acquainting your Excellency when I hear further about it, with any degree of certainty. Mr. Askin Comisary & Mr. Ainse, Indian Interpreter,[29] have applyed to me for leave to enclose some few acres of land, & build each a house within about three miles of the Fort, which I have agreed to on condition that if you should object it be immediately levelled.

I have the honor to be Sir Your most obedient Most Humble Servant

JOHN VATTAS.

To His Excellency The Honourable Thomas Gage Esqr New York

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[29] John Askin was a Scotch-Irishman who came West soon after the French and Indian War, and having settled at Detroit married there a French Creole. He was employed as commissary at Mackinac until April, 1780, when he was dismissed from the service. Retiring to Detroit he was living there as late as 1810. Several sons were in the War of 1812–15. Their papers are now in possession of Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit. See calendar in *Canadian Archives*, 1905, pp. xxv–xxxii.

Joseph Louise Ainse (Hins, Ainsée) was a native of Mackinac, where he was born May 1, 1744; see Mackinac Register, *post*. In 1766 he was an informer against Major Rogers, being soon thereafter taken into employ as interpreter, in which office he continued until retired by De Peyster in 1780. Sinclair thought him a man of ability, and apparently had him reinstated in office. In 1786–87 he made an official journey to Wisconsin, in the interests of a peace; but was accused and brought to trial the succeeding year by the merchants of Mackinac. The trial dragged for over two years, but in 1790 the findings of the court were against Ainse, who was convicted of having embezzled government stores for his own trading ventures. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 491–610.—ED.

[Letter from Capt. John Vattas to Gen. Frederick Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 302–304.]

MICHILIMACKINAC, June 16th, 1773.

SIR—Your Excellency's Letters of Novr. 25th 1772 & March 29th 1773 I had the honor of receiving last week & shall endeavour to follow the several directions inserted to the best of my abilities a Priest of Detroit by name Simple raised a report last winter that a Body of Savages in number about five hundred attempted cutting off the Fort on New Year's day last that near two hundred of these had already gained admittance to the Fort unnoticed & were by mere chance afterwards discovered by a Sentry from whose information they were searched & found to have arms cut short concealed under their Blankets; upon this discovery those without dispersed & fled as did the former as quick as possible; This he informed an Engage of who had been sent by His Bourgeois early in Jany. there from off his wintering ground about eighty leagues on business to his owner, who on his return divulged all he had heard from the Recollet & carried by it much uneasiness amongst the Traders & Savages. I have sent him down to Detroit to be examined in presence of the Recollet, altho' he denies the whole, notwithstanding the other has sworn to the Deposition. Mr. St. Luc Lacorne's arrival here from Montreal, some time after this ugly Report, added to a Paper left by my Predecessor, relative to a Savage having received a Belt from him, with words that passed between them on that occasion made me begin to keep a sharp lookout & guard in as far as possible against any attempt here by surprise or otherwise. I immediately caused the pickets absolutely worn away to be pulled down, had new ones planted in their room got several hundred more cut & cannon rightly prepared. However I soon discovered Mr. St. Luc's business, to be only to gather in some debts. have had that same savage examined by him & the Interpreter in presence of witnesses, who were readily convinced his accounts were groundless & malicious & deserving of the severest punishment. One Ducharmes, a Trader, has been plundered in the course of winter

by a Lasaide [Laclède], who follows some business on the Spanish side. This Ducharmes went I believe beyond our Limits and was served so in consequence of it by order of Mr. Purenasse [Piernas] the Spanish Commandant on the Missouri. the Spaniards I'm told want much to engross all the Trade with the Saaks, & prevailed on them very lately to go against the Osages, with whom they had since engaged, that fifteen of the former had been killed, on the spot and the rest had fled much dissatisfy'd with that Expedition. I have also heard of a Mr. Boyle's[30] having been killed wintering with three or four more in other parts; but as tis not yet certain how it happened, nor by whom perpetrated, I must wait the arrival of other Traders & refer Your Excellency for a certainty of those facts to another opportunity. Two of Mr. Baxters Company of Miners are here, on their Return to England & Himself shortly expected, on same Business. I'm told they are heartily tired of the undertaking, met with some disappointment in their last year's drafts & have determined to persist no longer in their error.[31] I have directed by the opportunity of the sloop, to Your Excellency, an account of Expenditures for things furnished to Savages by Mr. Todd,[32] with a Draft at twenty days sight in his favor, for the amount Commodore Grant[33] has signified to me having received your orders to prepare two Boats, for the use of this Garrison,

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[30] Nothing further than what is stated in this document and the next, seems to be known of this trader, save that he was in Detroit in 1768.—Ed.

[31] Alexander Baxter was an Englishman, apparently being Russian consul at Montreal. He embarked (1768) in a mining enterprise with Alexander Henry. In 1768–69 he returned to England, organized a company, purchased mines, and brought out miners. These operations appear to have been on the east shore of Lake Superior. See Bain, *Henry's Journals*, p. 228, and *ante*, pp. 293–295, 311. In 1774 the work was abandoned.—Ed.

[32] Probably Isaac Todd, merchant of Montreal, who did a large outfitting business for the Northwest.—Ed.

[33] Capt. Alexander Grant was bred to the sea, and while lieutenant in the 77th infantry commanded (1759–60) vessels upon Lake Cham-

I have the Honor to be Sir Your Excellency's most obedient Humble Servant

JOHN VATTAS

The Interpreter has layed before me & desired me to represent it to you, that Captain Turnbull[34] agreed with him for a Dollar & Ration per Day, the Latter he understands is to be struck off, but flatters himself from Your Excellency's known goodness, the dearness of every thing here & his endeavours to prove himself worthy of his office that you will order him a continuance of it.[35]

[Letter from Capt. John Vattas to Gen. Frederick Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 305, 306.]

MISSILIMACKINAC, July 1st, 1773.

SIR—I did myself the honor to acquaint Your Excellency, in my last that there were many Reports relative to Traders having lost their lives, wintering which I wanted a confirmation of, previous to affirming it for Truth. Hugh Boyle killed at La Rivière des Sauteux [Chippewa River] I by desire of the Traders, had a Court of Enquiry upon, who gave me in their

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plain. In 1763 he was invested with the direction of all the military shipping upon the Great Lakes, which he continued to command until 1812, retiring with the title of commodore. He died at Grosse Pointe, near Detroit, in 1815. See statement of his earlier services in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 256.—ED.

[34] Capt. George Turnbull entered the Royal Americans in 1756, with the rank of lieutenant; the next year he was wounded at Lake George. Promoted to a captaincy in 1765, he was in the following year sent to command at Detroit, where he remained for three years. He seems to have gone thence to command at Mackinac, but the period of his authority there is not entirely clear; Vattas, however, speaks of him as his predecessor. The regiment to which he belonged was ordered to the West Indies in 1773, and it is probable that Turnbull was with them In 1775 he was no longer on the rolls, either having died or retired from the army.—ED.

[35] Doubtless this was Joseph Ainse, for whom see *ante*, p. 309, note 29.—ED.

opinion, that he had been in a great measure accessory to his own Death; he attempted Twice it seems, to kill an Engage; but his Piece missing Fire & the other presented fire and killed him at once. Two of Mr. Todds men wintering between the falls of St. Mary & Grand Portage are missing.[36] By their Books it appears they were alive in Feb'y last, that they about that time gave credit to a Squaw known in those parts for a vile wretch, but as the Packs, made by them have been found & received by the owner, tis hard yet to say whether they were killed by the aforesaid woman, or perished for want of sustenance. Mr. Ducharme's affair,[37] I imagine, has been mentioned to Your Excellency by the commanding officer, nearest that Post, so imagine it unnecessary to trouble you with any Repitition. I have received a Batteaux agreeable to your orders, from Detroit and expect the second by first opportunity; Of the four left me here by Capt Turnbull, one only remains in some measure fit for service, I have repaired the others so often & to so little purpose that, I begin to consider it, as money thrown away, unless you pleased to order Commodore Grant, to send me a man to inspect into & repair them. I must now acquaint your Excellency that there are four Saak Chiefs, come this Spring to the Fort, but did not bring in the Murderer according to promise & pledges left by them with my predecessor, they pretend that they joined a band of Savages, going to war with others: I at first refused them admittance; which by advice of the Traders was afterwards granted them & I dismissed them convinced to all appearance of their Breach of Faith & Resolution to make it good next Spring; I don't imagine much faith is to be given to their promises. a greater quantity of Packs I have room to think have been made this season than usual; but as the Traders increase yearly in numbers & each

[36] For the evils of this period of unorganized competition in the Lake Superior region, see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii.—Ed.

[37] This arrest of Ducharme was supposed by earlier historians to be the inciting cause of the attack on St. Louis in 1780; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 231-233. Ducharme's arrest was in accord with the settled Spanish policy to exclude foreign traders.—Ed.

man does not make equally alike, they in general call the last a bad winter. the Savages upon the whole dont appear satisfied. they are much inclined to war with each other & while I endeavour to reconcile them I am sensible from various Reports however Idle, given in to me, that I must trust as little as possible in them.

I have the honor to be Sir Your Excellency's most obedient most Humble Servant

JOHN VATTAS

1740-75: JOURNAL OF PETER POND

[Reprinted from *Connecticut Magazine*, x, pp. 239-259.][38]

I was born in Milford in the countey of New Haven in Conn the 18 day of Jany 1740 and lived thare under the Government and protection of my parans til the year 56.[39] A Part of the British troops which Ascaped at Bradixis [Brad-

[38] This journal of an early visit to Wisconsin (1773-75) was first printed in the *Connecticut Magazine* as a curious example of orthography, as well as being the adventures of a Connecticut native in the far West. Impressed with its value as one of the earliest English descriptions of Wisconsin, we obtained permission from the publishers to reprint it in the present volume. The original was found in 1868 by Mrs. Nathan Gillett Pond in the kitchen of Hon. Charles Hobby Pond, governor of Connecticut (1853) and a nephew of Peter. The manuscript was there being used for waste paper. It is still the property of Mrs. Pond.—ED.

[39] The later life of Peter Pond has long been known; the discovery of the present manuscript gives a sketch of his early career. After his years in Wisconsin (1773-75), Pond entered the Northwest fur-trade, his first voyage to Lake Winnipeg occurring in 1775. Thence he visited the Saskatchewan, but retraced his steps to winter (1775-76) on Dauphin Lake. In the spring of 1776 he returned to the Saskatchewan, wintering two successive years at its forks. In 1778 all the traders of the district, including the Frobisher brothers, Alexander Henry, and Peter Pond, met at Sturgeon Lake, and determined to pool interests. This was the beginning of the afterwards famous

dock's] Defeat on ye Bank of the Monagahaley in Pea [Penn.] the french fortafycation which is now Cald fort Pit Cam to Milford. Toward spring Government bagan to Rase troops for the Insewing Campaign aganst Crown point under the Comand of General Winsloe. Beaing then sixteen years of age I Gave my Parans to understand that I had a Strong Desire to be a Solge. That I was detarmind to enlist under the Oficers that was Going from Milford & joine the army. But thay forbid me, and no wonder as my father had a Larg and young famerly I Just Began to be of sum youse to him in his afairs. Still the same Inklanation & Sperit that my Ansesters Profest run thero my

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North West Company, which was not finally incorporated until 1784. Pond was given charge (1778) of four canoes filled with goods, and sent into the far Northwest, following Frobisher's footsteps. He, however, penetrated much farther than the latter, finally building a fort on the Athabasca not far from what later was Fort Chipewyan. This he made his headquarters for six years, trading and exploring throughout the entire region, and reaping a rich harvest of peltry. In 1782 he had a quarrel with a Swiss trader named Wadin, and shot and killed him. Wadin's widow applied for a trial, and Pond and his clerk were sent down to Montreal late in 1784, but they were freed for lack of jurisdiction. In 1785 Pond was in Quebec, where he presented a memorial to the governor, asking for protection for further exploration. As a reward for services already devoted to geographical research, the monopoly of the Northwest trade was given for ten years to the North West Company. At this time Pond presented a map of the region he had explored. In the same year he again started West, and by 1786 had reached Great Slave Lake. There, in 1787, he had a duel with John Ross, a well-known trader, in which the latter was killed. The following year, Pond finally left the Northwest, and sold out his share in the North West Company to William McGillivray for £800. He is credited with having given information and assistance to the American commissioners for the Northwest international boundary. The latter years of Pond's life were passed in the United States, probably at Milford, Conn., where he died in 1807. According to the Pond genealogy in *Connecticut Magazine*, x, pp. 161–176, he married Susanna Newell, and had at least two children, of whom Peter (1763–1813) must have accompanied his uncle Charles in naval operations during the Revolutionary War. Peter Pond the elder was in the Northwest during the entire Revolutionary period.—Ed.

Vanes. It is well Known that from fifth Gineration downward we ware all waryers Ither by Sea or Land and in Dead so strong was the Propensatey for the arme that I could not with stand its Temtations. One Eaveing in April the Drums an Instraments of Musick ware all Imployed to that Degrea that thay Charmed me. I repaird to a Publick house whare Marth and Gollatrey was Highly Going on. I found Miney lads of my Aquantans which Seamd Detarmined to Go in to the Sarvis. I talkt with Capt Baldwin and ask him weather he would take me in his Companey as he was the Recruiting Offeser.[40] He Readealey agread and I set my hand to the orders. My Parans was so angry that thay forbid me making my apearance at Home. I taread about the town among my fello Solgers and thought that I had made a profitable Exchange giting a Rigimintal Coate in Plase * * * llard Cloth. At Length the time Came to Report. Early in June we imbarked on bord a Vessel to join the Arme at the randivoere. We sald from Milford to New York proceeded up North river and arrived safe at Albany. I cam on Smartly as I had sum of my Bountey Money with me. I did not want for Ginger Bread and Small Bear and sun forgot that I had left my Parans who were Exseedingley trubeld in Minde for my wellfair. After taring thare sum Weakes the Prinsabel Part of the Armey got togather and we Proseaded up to the Halfmoon and thare lay til the hole of the Armey from Differant Parts of the hole Countray Got to Gather. In the meantime Parties and Teamsters ware Imploid In forwarding Provishon from Post to Post and from Forte Eadward to the head of Lake George. It was supposed that we should Crose Lake George and make a Desent on ticondaroge But before that could be a Complished the sumer ended. Fall of Year Seat in and we went to work at the fort George which lay on the head of the Lake by that name. In November it Groed two cold to sleap

[40] Capt. David Baldwin commanded the seventh company of the Connecticut regiment in 1756, and Peter Pond is enrolled among his privates. See *Conn. Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 105.—Ed.

in tents and the men began to Mutanie and say that thay had sarved thare times out for which thay ware inlisted and would return Home after Satisfying them with smooth words they ware Prevailed on to Prolong the Campaign a few weakes and at the time promest by the Ginarel the Camp broke up and the troops returned to thare respective Plasis in all parts of ye Country from which thay came But not without leaving a Grate Number Behind which Di[e]d with the Disentary & other Diseases which Camps are subjet to Appesaley [especially] among Raw troops as the Amaracans ware at that time and thay Beaing Strangers to a holesome Mod of Cookeraray it mad Grate Havock with them in making youse of Salt Provishons as thay did which was in a grate part Broyling & Drinking water with it to Exses.

The year insewing which was 57 I taread at home with my Parans so that I ascaped the Misfortune of a number of my Countrey men for Moncalm came against fort George & Capterd it & as the amaracans ware Going of for fort Edward a Greabel to ye Capatalasion [capitulation] the Indians fel apon them and mad grate Havack.

In ye year 58 the Safety of British Amaraca required that a large Arme should be raised to act with the British Troops against Cannaday and under the command of Gineral Abercrombie against ticonderoge. I found tareing at home was too Inactive a Life for me therefore I joined many of my old Companyans a secont time for the Arme of ye end of the Campain under the same Offisers and same Regiment under the command of Cornl Nathan Whiting.[41] In the Spring we embarked to gine the Arme at Albany whare we arrived safe at the time appointed. We ware emploid in forwarding Provishuns to Fort Edward for the youse of the Sarvis. When all was readey to cross Lake George the Armey Imbarked consisting of 18000 British &

[41] Col. Nathan Whiting of New Haven commanded the 2nd Connecticut regiment in 1758. Capt. David Baldwin of Milford was one of his officers, but the muster-roll of his company is not extant. See *Id.*, x, p. 37.—Ed.

Provincals in about 1200 Boates and a number of whalebotes, floating Battery, Gondaloes, Rogalleyes & Gunbotes. The next day we arrived at the North end of Lake George and landed without opposition. The french that were encampt at that end of the Lake fled at our appearance as far as Ticonderoge & joined thare old commander Moncalm & we ware drawn up in order and divided into Collams and ordered to March toward Montcalm in his camp before the fort—but unfortunately for us Moncalm like a Gineral dispatched Five hundred to oppose us in our landing or at least to Imbarres us in our March so he might put his Camp in some sort of defense before our Arme could arrive & thay did it most completely. We had not Marcht more than a Mile & a Half Befoare we Meat the falon [forlorn] Hope for Such it Proved to be. The British troops Kept [the] Rode in One Collam the Amaracans Marcht threw ye Woods on thare Left. On ye Rite of the British was the Run of Water that Emteys from Lake George into Lake Champlain. The British & French Meat in the Open Rode Verey Near Each Other Befoar thay Discovered the french on a Count of the Uneaveneas of the Ground. Lord How held the secont Place in Command & Beaing at the Head of the British troops with a small sidearm in his hand he Ordered the troopes to forme thare front to ye Left to atack the french But While this Was Dueing the french fird & his Lordship Receaved a Ball & three Buck shot threw the Senter of his Brest & Expired without Spekeing a word. But the french Pade Dear for this Bold atempt. It Was But a Short time Befoare thay ware Surounded By the Hole of the Amaracan troops & those that Did not Leape into the Raped Stream in Order to Regan thare Camp ware Made Prisners or Kild & those that Did Went Down with the Raped Curant & Was Drounded. From the Best Information I Could Geat from ye french of that Partea was that thare was But Seven men of ye five Hundred that Reacht the Campt But it answered the Purpas Amaseingly. This afair Hapend on thirsday. The troops Beaing all Strangers to the Ground & Runing threw the Woods after the Dis-

parst frenchmen Night came on and thay Got themSelves so Disparst that thay Could not find the way Back to thare Boates at the Landing. That Nite the British did Beatter haveing the Open Rod to Direct them thay Got to ye Lake Sid Without trubel. A Large Party of ye amaracans Past the Nite within a Bout half a Mile of the french Lines With Out noeing whare thay ware til Morning. I was not in this Partey. I had wanderd in ye Woods in the Nite with A Bout twelve Men of my aquantans—finealey fel on the Rode a Bout a Mile North of ye spot whare the first fire began. Beaing in the Rode we Marched toward Our boates at ye Water Side But Beaing Dark we Made But a Stumbling Pece of Bisness of it & Sun Coming aMong the Dead Bodeyes Which ware Strewed Quit thick on the ground for Sum Little Distans. We Stumbled over them for a while as long as thay Lasted. At Lengh we Got to the Water just Before Day Lite in the Morn. What Could be found of the troops Got in sum Order & Began our March a Bout two a Clock in ye Afternoon Crossing the Raped Stream & Left it on Our Left the rode on this Side was Good & we advansd toward the french Camp as fars the Miles [Mills] About a Mile from the Works & thare Past the Night Lying on Our Armes. This Delay Gave the french What thay Wanted—time to secure thare Camp which was Well Executed. The Next Day which was Satterday about Eleven we ware Seat in Mosin the British Leading the Van it was about. Thay ware Drawn up Before Strong Brest Work but more in Extent then to Permit four thousand five Hundred acting. We had no Cannon up to the works. The Intent was to March over this work But thay found themselves Sadly Mistaken. The french had Cut Down a Grate number of Pinetrease in front of thare Camp at som distance. While som ware Entrenching Others ware Imployed Cuting of the Lims of the Trease and Sharpening them at Both Ends for a Shevoe Dufrease [chevaux de frise], others Cuting of Larg Logs and Geting them to the Brest Works. At Lengh thay ware Ready for Our Resaption. About twelve the Parties Began thare fire & the British Put

thare Plan on fut to March Over the Works But the Lims and tops of the Trease on the Side for the Diek Stuck fast in the Ground and all pointed at upper End that thay Could not Git threw them til thay ware at Last Obliged to Quit that plan for three forths ware Kild in the atempt But the Grater Part of the armey Lade in the Rear on thare fases til Nite while the British ware Batteling a Brest work Nine Logs thick in Som plases which was Dun without ye Help of Canan tho we had as fine an Artilrey Just at Hand as Could be in an armey of fifteen thousand Men But thay ware of no youse while thay ware Lying on thare fases. Just as the sun was Seating Abercrombie came from left to Rite in the rear of the troops ingaged and Ordered a Retreat Beat and we left the Ground with about two thousand two hundred Loss as I was Informd By an Officer who saw the Returns of ye Nite Wounded and Mising.[42] We ware Ordered to Regain our Boates at the Lake Side which was Dun after traveling all Nite so Sloley that we fell asleep by the Way. About Nine or tenn in the Morning we ware Ordered to Imbark & Cross the Lake to the Head of Lake George But to Sea the Confuson thare was the Solgers Could not find thare One Botes But Imbarked Permisherley [promiscuously] whare Ever thay Could Git in Expecting the french at thare Heales Eavery minnet. We arived at the Head of the Lake in a short time —took up our Old Incampment which was well fortefied. After a few Days the armey Began to Com to themselves and found thay ware safe for the hole of the french in that Part of the Country was not more than three thousand men and we about fortee thousand. We then Began to Git up Provishan from fort Edward to the Camp But the french ware so Bold as to Beseat our Scouting Partey Between the Camp and fort Edward & Cut of all the teames, Destroy the Provishun, Kill the Parties and

[42] For a full description of this action, including the death of Howe, the advance attack, the Trout Brook, the mills, and Montcalm's breastwork defense, see Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii, pp. 83–113. The actual loss was over nineteen hundred. Pond's description of this action is sufficient, by its accuracy and vigor, to prove the value of his journal as an historical source.—Ed.

all under thare ascort. We Past the Sumer in that Maner & in the fall Verey late the Camp Broke up and what Remaned Went into Winter Qaters in Different Parts of the Collanees thus Ended the Most Ridicklas Campane Eaver Hard of.

The year 59 an armey was Rased to go against Niagaray to Be Commanded by Gineral Broduck [meaning Prideaux]. As the Connecticut troops ware not to Be Imploid in that Part of the armey I went to Long Island and Ingaged in that Sarvis. In the Spring we Repaird to Albany & Gined the armey as that was the plase of Rondevuse. We ware Imploid in Geating forward Provisons to Oswego for the Sarvis of the Campain.[43] When we asemeled at Osawaga Col Haldaman took Part of the troops under his Command & Incampt on the Ontarey Side But the troops that ware Destind to Go aganst Niagara Incampt on the Opaset Side of the River under the Command of Genneral Bradduck [Prideaux] But the Company I Belonged to was not ordered Over the Lake at all But Col Johnson who was in the Garsea [Jersey] Sarvis sent for me In Partickler to Go Over the Lake.[44] I wated on him and Inquired of him how he Came to take me the Ondley Man of the Company Out to Go Over the Lake. He sade he had a mind I should be with him. I then asked him for as maney of the Companey as would make me a Seat of tent mates. He sun Complid & we went & Incampt with the troop for that Sarvis. Capt Vanvater Commanded the Company we joind. We sun Imbarkt and Arived at Nagarey. In a few Days when all ware Landead I was Sent By the Agatint Mr. Bull as Orderly Sarjant to General Braduck [Prideaux]. I was Kept so Close to my Dutey that I Got neither Sleape nor Rest for the armey was up Befoare the Works at the

[43] Peter Pond, aged nineteen, born in Connecticut, a shoemaker by trade, enlisted in the Suffolk County (N. Y.) regiment, April 17, 1759; see N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Colls.*, 1891, p. 196.—Ed.

[44] Col. John Johnstone of Perth Amboy, N. J., was commissioned March 10, 1758, and served at Ticonderoga. The next year he was colonel of the New York regiment, and second in command of the Western army, being (as Pond states) killed by a cannon ball at Fort Niagara.—Ed.

fort and the General was Down at Johnsons Landing four Miles from the acting Part of the armey.[45] I was forced to Run Back & forth four miles Nite and Day til I Could not Sarve Eney Longer. I sent to Mr. Bull to Releave me by Sending another Sargint in my Plase which was Dun & I Gind my friends agane and fought In the trenches aganst the fort. Befoar we had Capterd the fort the Gennarel had gind the arme & himself & my frend Col Johnson ware Both Kilt in One Day and Col Shaday [Thodey][46] of the New York troops shot threw the Leag. This was a Loss to Our Small armey—three Brave Offesars in One Day. We Continued the Seage with Spereat under the Command of Sir William Johnson who it fell to after the Death of Braduck [Prideaux]. I was faverd—I Got but One Slite wound Dureing the Seage. At the End of Twenty five Days the fort Capatalated to leave the Works with the honners of war & lay down thare Armes on the Beach whare thay ware to Imbark in Boates for Schanactady under an escort. After apointing troops to Garsen the fort we Returnd to Oswago and Bilt a fort Cald fort Erey.[47] At the Close of the Campain what was alive returned Home to thare Native plases But we had left a number Behind who was in thare Life Brave Men. On my

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[45] Probably the Capt. Vanvater whom Pond mentions, was Capt. Dirck Van Veghte of New Brunswick, N. J.

Johnson's Landing was on Lake Ontario, four miles from the mouth of the river where the fort stood. The Buffalo Historical Society proposes to mark the site.—Ed.

[46] Col. Michael Thodey of New York city was a prominent merchant thereof, whose father settled there about 1732. His brother Francis commanded a company on this same campaign. Thodey entered the provincial troops as lieutenant in 1755, serving as captain in the latter half of the year. In 1759 he was lieutenant-colonel of the second battalion. His wound did not disable him for service, for he was colonel of the New York regiment (1761-63). He was married (1760) in New York city to Elizabeth Jones.—Ed.

[47] The fort rebuilt on the site of Fort Ontario, which was destroyed by Montcalm in 1756, was finished in 1760. Pond must have mistaken the name; it was, like the former fort, known as Ontario not Erie.—Ed.

Arival at Milford I found Maney of the Prisners I had Bin so Industres in Captering ware Billeated in the town. I Past the winter among them.

In 1760 I Receaved a Commission and Entered a forth time in the armey. We then Gind the Armey at the Old Plase of Rondavuse and after lying there a few weakes in Camp Duing Rigimental Dutey General Armarst [Amherst] Sent of in pourshen to Carre the Baggage to Oswago whare Part of the Armey had all readey arived. I was Ordered on this Command—four Offesers & Eighty Men. On our arrival at Oswago the Genarel gave the other three Offesers as Maney Men as would man One Boate & Ordered them to Return to thare Rigiment. Me he Ordered to Incamp with my Men in the Rear of his fammerley til farther Orders with Seventy Men til Just Befoar the armey Imbarkt for S[wegatchie] and then Gind my Rigiment.[48] Sun after thare was apointed a Light Infantry Companey to be Pickt Out of Each Rigiment—Hats Cut Small that thay mite be youneform. I was apointed to this Company. When orders ware given the Armey about Nine thousand Imbark in a Number of Boates & went on the Lake toward Swagochea whare we Arived safe. Thare we found Pashoe [Pouchot]that had Bin taken at Niagarey the sumer Before Commanding the fort and Semed to Be Detarmined to Dispute us & Give us all the trubel he Could But after Eight or a few more Days he was obliged to Comply with the tarmes of Our Victoras armey a second time in les than One year.[49] We then Left a Garrson & Desended the River til we Reacht Montreal the Ondley Plase the french Had In Possession in Canaday. Hear we lay one Night on Our Armes. The next Day the town Suranderd to Gineral Amharst.

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[48] Oswegatchie, the site of the mission La Présentation, for which see *ante*, p. 145, note 87.—Ed.

[49] Capt. François Pouchot, for whom see *ante*, p. 211, note 63. He was exchanged after his capture at Niagara (July 25, 1759), in November of that year, and sent to command a fort called Lévis, on a rocky islet opposite La Présentation. After a vigorous defense against Amherst's overwhelming numbers, Pouchot surrendered Aug. 25, 1760.—Ed.

In the years while I was in the Armey all Canaday was in the Hands of the British Nor have thay [the French] Had aney Part of it Sins. All Canaday subdued I thought thare was no bisnes left for me and turned my atenshan to the Seas thinking to make it my Profesion and in Sixtey one I went a Voige to the Islands in the West Indees and Returnd Safe but found that my father Had gon a trading Voig to Detroit and my Mother falling Sick with a feaver Dide Before his Return. I was Oblige to Give up the Idea of going to Sea at that time and take Charge of a Young fammaley til my father Returnd after which I Bent my Mind after Differant Objects and tared in Milford three years which was the Ondley three years of my Life I was three years in One Plase Sins I was Sixteen years old up to Sixtey.[50]

At ye End of the three years I went into trade first at Detroit. I Continued in trade for Six years in Differant Parts of that Countrey But Beaing Exposed to all Sorts of Companey. It Hapend that a parson [person] who was in trade himself to Abuse me in a Shamefull manner Knowing that if I Resented he Could shake me in Peaces at same time supposing that I Dare not Sea him at the Pints or at Leas I would not But the Abuse was too Grate. We met the Next Morning Eairley & Discharged Pistels in which the Pore fellowe was unfortenat. I then Came Down the Countrey & Declard the fact But thare was none to Prosacute me.

I then Made a ture to ye West Indees & on my Return Home I Receaved a Letter from a Gentelman in New York to Com Down and Sea him for he was Desiras to Go into Partner Ship with me in trade. I Complyde and we Lade in a cargo to the

[50] Mary Hubbard was married to Peter Pond Sr. in 1739 and died June 16, 1761, aged thirty-seven. Her husband died in 1765. There were nine children, of whom Peter was the eldest—the youngest being born at the time of his mother's death. According to the Pond genealogy, Peter Jr. was married during this three years' residence in Milford. The expression "Sixteen years old up to Sixtey," would indicate that the journal was written in Pond's later life, certainly after the year 1800.—Ed.

amount of four thousand Six Hundred Pounds & I went In to the Entearer Part of the Countrey first to Mishlemackanack from thenst to the Mississippey and up Sant Peters River & into the Plains Betwene the Mississippey & the Miseurea and Past my Winter among the Nattawaysease on such food as thay made youse of themselves which was Verey darteyaly Cooked.[51]

The Next is to Show the Way of Convance of these Goods to the Most Remot Parts of ye Countrey for that Year or Season. In the first Plase thay ware Shipt at New York for allbaney—from thens thay ware taken fourteen Miles By Land to Sconacaday [Schenectady] in wagons—then Shipt on Bord Battoes & taken up the Mohawk River to fort Stanwix—thare Carread a Mile By Land with the Boates and Put in to Woodcrick & from thens threw the Onida Lake & Down those waters to Lake Ontarey & Coasted along the South Side of that Lake till thay came to Nagarey & from the Landing Plase a few Miles South of that fort thay ware with the Battoes Caread a Cross that Caring Place about Nine Miles—then Put in to the Waters that Com out of Lak Erey into Lake Ontarey at a Plase Cald Fort Slosser[52]—from that the boats were taken to a small fort Cald fort Erey in the North Side of Lake Erey—then Coasting along South Side of that Lake til thay Com to the Mouth of that River—then up to Detroit—from thens up those waters to Lake St. Clair a small one about fourteen Miles Long—from thens Cros these waters which Com out of Lake Huron you come to that Lake and Coasting a Long the West Sid of it about five Hundred Miles thay Cam to Mishlamacknack that Lay on that [lake]. On the South Side of a Strate Betwene Lake Huron & Mishagan thare was a British Garason whare all the traders asembled yearley to arang thare afaires for the Insewing Winter But I Did not Acompany my Goods myself—Left that Part to my Partner Mr. Graham.[53] I wanted Som Small

[51] This last paragraph is a summary of the portion of the journal that follows, and does not refer to a separate voyage.—Ed.

[52] For the building of Fort Schlosser (Little Niagara) see *ante*, p. 170, note 12.—Ed.

[53] A trader of this name was at Mackinac in 1779, and again in

artickles in the Indian way to Compleat my asortment which was not to be had in New York. I thare foure took my Boate threw Lake George & threw Lake Champlain to Montreal whare I found all I wanted. This was in the Spring 1773. Thare was a number of Canoes fiting for Mishlemacanac. I agread With Isac Tod a Sgr. to take my Goods in his Cannoe on fraight and Imbarkt with him & James McGill Esq.[54] in one of his Canoes and Seat of from Lashean for Mackinac By way of the Grand [Ottawa] River. As you Pass the End of the Island of Montreal to Go in a Small Lake Cald the Lake of the [Two] Mountains thare Stans a Small Roman Church Aganst a Small Raped. This Church is Dedacated to St. Ann who Protects all Voigers. Heare is a small Box with a Hole in the top for ye Reseption of a Little Money for the Hole father or to say a small Mass for those Who Put a small Sum in the Box. Sears a Voiger but stops hear and Puts in his mite and By that Meanes thay Suppose thay are Protected. While absent the Church is not Locked But the Money Box is well Secured from theaves. After the Saremony of Crossing them selves and Repeating a Short Prayer we Crost the Lake and Enterd the

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1780. It would be interesting to know if Pond's partner was related to Capt. Duncan Graham, a well known trader in Wisconsin and Minnesota during the early nineteenth century. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 298, 467.—Ed.

[54] Hon. James McGill was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1744. Coming to Canada soon after the conquest, he entered the fur-trade, and made a number of voyages to the Northwest, being one of the original shareholders in the North West Company. He does not appear to have frequently visited the upper country after 1780, but was head of a large outfitting house in Montreal. McGill acquired a considerable fortune in the fur-trade, and left a legacy for education that became the foundation of McGill University at Montreal. Patriotic in his interests, he served as a militia officer, also as member of the legislature in his adopted country. At the outbreak of the War of 1812–15, he took vigorous measures to support the Canadian government, and was made brigadier-general of militia. The following year (1813), however, he died at his home in Montreal. For his early partner, Isaac Todd see *ante*, p. 311, note 32.—Ed.

Grand River so Cald which Lead us to the Waters which Coms in to that River from the Southwest [Northwest]. We asended these waters & Makeing Som Careing Places we Came to a Small Lake Cald Nipasank [Nipissing] whose Waters fall into Lake Huron By the french River. We Desended that River and Coasted along the North Side of that Lake til we Came Oppaseat to Mackenac—then Çrost the Streat to the Garrasson where I found my Goods from New York Had Arived Safe. Hear I Met with a Grate meney Hundred People of all Denominations—Sum trading with the tribes that Came a Grate Distans with thare furs. Skins & Maple Suga &c to Market. To these May be added Dride Venson, Bares Greas, and the Like which is a Considerable Part of trade. Others ware Imployd in Making up thare Equipments for to Send in to the Differant Parts of the Country to Pas the Winter with ye Indan tribes and trade what thay Git from the Hunt of ye Winter Insewing. I was one of this Discription. I Divided my Goods into twelve Parts and fited out twelv Larg Canoes for Differant Parts of the Mississippy River. Each cannew was mad of Birch Bark and white Seader thay would Carry seven Thousand wate.

A Description of Macenac—This Place is Kept up by a Capts. Command of British which were Lodged in Good Barracks within the Stockades whare thare is Som french Bildings & a Commodious Roman Church whare the french inhabitants & Ingasheas [Engagés] Go to Mass. Befoare it was given up to the British thare was a french Missenare [missionary] astablished hear who Resided for a number of years hear. While I was hear thare was None But traveling One who Coms sometimes to make a Short stay But all way in the Spring when the People ware ye Most numeras then the Engashea often went to Confes & git absolution. I had the next winter with me one who was adicted to theaving—he took from me in silver trinkets to the amount of ten Pound But I got them agane to a trifle. In the spring we found one of those Preasts at Mackenac who was Duing wonders among the People. My young Man Babtist who had Comited the theft Heard of it from his Comrads

who Had Bin to Confess. His Consans smit him & He Seat of to Confess but Could Not Git absolution. He went a seacond time without sucksess But was Informed by his Bennadict that Somthing was wanting. He Came to me Desireing me to leat him Have Two Otter Skins Promising that He Would Be Beatter in futer and sarve well. I Leat Him have them. He Went of. In a few Minnets after or a Short time he Returned. I askt him What Suckses. O sade he the father sais my Case is a Bad One But if I Bring two Otter more he will take my Case on himself and Discharge me. I let him Have them & in a short time he Returned as full of thanks as he Could Expres and sarved me well after. The Inhabitans of this Plase trade with the Natives and thay Go out with ye Indians in the fall and winter with them—Men, woman and Children. Most of the frenchmens wives are white women. In the Spring thay make a Grate Quantity of Maple Suga for the youse of thare families & for sale som of them. The Land about Macinac is Vary Baran—a Mear Sand Bank—but the Gareson By Manure Have Good Potaters and Sum Vegetables. The British Cut Hay anuf for thare Stock a few Miles Distans from the Gareson & Bring hom on Boates. Others Cut the Gras & Stock it on the Streat & Slead it on the Ice Thirty Miles in ye Winter. Thare is Sum Indan Villeges twenty or thirty Miles from this Plase whare the Natives Improve Verey Good Ground. Thay Have Corn Beens and meney articles which thay youse in Part themselves and Bring the Remander to Market. The Nearest tribe is the Atawase [Ottawa] & the most Sivelised in these Parts But Drink to Exses. Often in the Winter thay Go out on a Hunting Party. In ye Spring thay Return to thare Villeges & Imploy the Sumer in Rasein things for food as yousal. But this is to Be understood to Belong to the Women—the men Never Meadel—this Part of thare bisness is Confind to the females Ondley. Men are Imployd in Hunting, fishing & fouling, War Parties etc. These Wood aford Partreages, Hairs, Vensen foxis & Rackcones, Sum Wild Pigins. This Lake or Strate abounds in all sorts of fine fish. I have Wade a trout

taken in By Mr. Camps with a Hook & line under the Ice in March Sixtey Six Pounds wate. I was Present. The Water was fifteen fatham Deape. The white fish are ye Another Exquisseat fish. Thay will way from 2½ to 9 & 10 Pound wt. Baran La Huntan who was the first that made an Excirtion from Macanac Into the Maseepey By the Rout of the Fox River —tho his Ideas ware Rong in Som things as I have Proved Sins his day—that * * * the Sturges [sturgeon] are the Best in these Lakes & the Harens [herrings] Exsead in flaver. The waters are trans Parant and fine.

I return to my one [own]. In Sept I Had my Small fleat Readey to Cross Lake Mishegan. On my Way to Grean Bay at the Mouth of fox river I Engaged Nine Clarkes for Differant Parts of the Northan & Westarn Countrey and Beaing Mand we Imbarkt & Crost the Lake without Seaing an Indan or Eney Person Except our One. In three or four Days we arive at the Mouth of the Bay which is two or three Mile Brod. In the Mouth is Som Islands which we follow in Crossing to the South West Sid & then follow ye Shore to the Bottom is Seventey Miles whare the fox River Empteys in to the Bay. We went a Short Distans up the River whare is a small french village and thare Incampt for two Days. This Land is Exalent. The Inhabitans Rase fine Corn and Sum Artickels for fammaley youse in thare Gardens. They Have Sum trad with ye Indans which Pas that way. On the North Part of this Bay is a small Villeag of Indans Cald the Mannomaneas who Live By Hunting Cheafley. Thay have another Resois [resource]—the Bottom of the Bay Produces a Large Quantity of Wilde Rice which thay Geather in Sept for food. I ort to have Menshand that the french at ye Villeg whare we Incampt Rase fine black Cattel & Horses with Sum swine.

At the End of two Days we asended the fox river til We Came to a Villeg which Lies on the East End of a small Lake that Emties into the fox River. These People are Cald Pewans [Puans] & the Lake by the same Name. These People are Singelar from the Rest of thare Neighbors. Thay Speake a

Hard Un Couth Langwidge scarst to be Learnt By Eney People. Thay will not a Sosheat with or Convars with the other tribes Nor Inter-marey among them. I Enquird into the Natral Histrey of these People when I was at Detroit of the Oldest and Most Entelagent frenchmen Who had Bin aquanted with them for Meney Years. The Information amounted to this that thay formerley Lived West of ye Misararey [Missouri] River—that thay Had Etarnal Disputes among themselves and Dispute with the Nations about them—at Lengh thare Neighbors In Grate Numbers fel upon them and what was Saved flead across the Misesarea to ye eastward and Over the Mississippey and on to this Lake whare thay now live thare thay met with a trib of Indans Who Suferd them to Seat Down. It was as is Supposed the foxe Nation who lived Near them—the foxis was Drove from Detroit for thare Misbehaver which ware a proper People to aSist them in thare flite. I Beleve most of it. They are Insolent to this Day and Inclineing Cheaterey thay will if they Can Git Creadit from the trader in the fall of ye Year to Pay in the Spring after thay Have Made thare Hunt But When you Mete them in Spring as Know them Personeley ask for your Pay and thay Will Speake in thare One Languege if thay Speake at all Which is not to be understood or Other ways thay Will Look Sulkey and Make you no answer and you loes your Debt.

I was at Mackenac when Capt George Turnbull Comanded Previous to the Amarecan Reverlution and thare Came in a Cheaf with a Small Band of these.[55] He Held a Counsel with them But he Couldn't Git an Intarpetar in the Plase that Understood them. At Lengh the Capt Said that he had a mind to Send for an Old Highland solge that Spoke Little But the Hars[h] Langwege—Perhaps he mite understand for it Sounded Much Like it. The Land about them on the Lake is Exalant. Thare women Rase Corn & Beens Punkins &c But the Lake

[55] This would seem to indicate that the present journey was not the first time Pond had visited Mackinac. No doubt he was often there during his previous six years' trading experience at Detroit.—Ed.

afords no Variety of fish thare Wood Produce Sum Rabits & Partreageis, a small Quantaty of Vensen. Thay Live in a Close Connection among themselves. We made But a Small Stay Hear and Past a Small Distans on the Lake and Enterd the fox River agane Which Leads up to the Cairing Plase of Osconston [Wisconsin].

We asended that River til we Cam to a High Pece of Ground whare that Nation yous to Entar thare Dead when thay Lived in that Part.[56] We stopt hear awhile finding Sum of that Nation on the Spot Who Came thare to Pay thare Respect to thare Departed frend. Thay Had a small Cag of Rum and sat around the grave. Thay fild thar Callemeat [Calumet] and Began thar saremony By Pinting the Stem of the Pipe upward—then giveing it a turn in thare and then toward ye head of the Grav—then East & West, North & South after which thay smoaked it out and filf it agane & Lade [it]By—then thay took Sum Rum out of the Cag in a Small Bark Vessel and Pourd it on the Head of the Grave By way of giving it to thar Departed Brother—then thay all Drank themselves—Lit the Pipe and seamed to Enjoi themselves Verey well. Thay Repeated this till the Sperit Began to Operate and thare harts Began to Soffen. Then thay Began to Sing a Song or two But at the End of Every Song thay Soffened the Clay. After Sumtime Had Relapst the Cag had Bin Blead often. Thay Began to Repete the Satisfaction thay had with that friend while he was with them and How fond he was of his frends While he Could Git a Cag of Rum and how thay youst to Injoy it togather. They Amused themselves in this manner til thay all fell a Crying and a woful Nois thay Mad for a While til thay thought Wisely that thay Could Not Bring him Back and it would Not Due to Greeve two much—that an application to the Cag was the Best Way to Dround Sorrow & Wash away Greefe for the Moshun was soon Put in Execution and all Began to be Marey as a Party Could Bea. Thay Continued til Near Nite. Rite Wen thay Ware More than Half Drunk the men began to

[56] Grand Butte des Morts, in Winnebago County, Wis.—Ed.

aproach the females and Chat frelay and apearantley friendley. At Lengh thay Began to Lean on Each other, Kis & apeared Verey amaras * * * I Could Observe Clearley this Bisiness was first Pusht on by the Women who made thare visit to the Dead a Verey pleasing one in thare Way. One of them who was Quit Drunk, as I was By Self Seating on the Ground observing thare Saremones, Cam to me and askt me to take a Share in her Bountey * * * But I thought it was time to Quit and went about Half a mile up the River to my Canoes whare My men was Incampt But the Indans never came Nigh us. The Men then Shun [mentioned] that three of the Women had bin at the Camp In the Night In Quest of Imploy. The next Morning we Proseaded up the River which was Verey Sarpentine inded til we Cam to a Shallo Lake whare you Could Sea water But Just in the Canoe track the Wilde Oates ware so thick that the Indans Could Searse Git one of thare Small Canoes into it to Geather it and the Wild Ducks When thay Ris Made a Nois like thunder. We Got as meney of them as we Chose fat and Good. We Incampt hear Would not undertake to Cross til Morning—the Water was two Deap to wade and ye Bottom Soft—the Rode so narrow that it toock the Most of ye next Day to get about three Miles With our Large Cannoes the track was so narrow. Near Nite we Got to Warm Ground whare we Incampt and Regaled Well after the fateages of the Day. The Next Day we Proseaded up the River which was slack water But Verey Sarpentine—we Have to go two Miles Without Geating fiftey yards ahead so winding—But Just at nite we reacht within Site of ye Caring [carrying] Plase and Incampt. Next morning Near noon we Arived and UuLoded our Canoes & toock them out of the water to dry that thay mite be liter On the Caring Plase On account of the fox River and its Neghbering Cuntrey A Long its Shores from the Mouth to the Pewans is A good Navigation. One or two Small Rapeds [lead] from that Lake the water up to the Caring plase is Verey Gental But Verey Sarpentine. In Maney Parts In Going three Miles you due not advans one. The Bank is almost

Leavel With the Water and the Medoes on Each Sid are Clear of Wood to a Grate Distans and Clothd with a Good sort of Grass the Openings of this River are Cald Lakes But thay are no more than Larg Openings. In these Plases the Water is about four or five feet deap. With a Soft Bottom these Plases Produce the Gratest Quantaties of Wild Rise of Which the Natives Geather Grat Quantaties and Eat what thay Have Ocation for & Dispose of the Remainder to People that Pass & Repass on thare trade. This Grane Looks in its Groth & Stock & Ears Like Ry and the Grane is of the same Culler But Longer and Slimer. When it is Cleaned fit for youse thay Boile it as we Duc Rise and Eat it with Bairs Greas and Suger But the Greas thay ad as it is Bileing which helps to Soffen it and make it Brake in the same Maner as Rise. When thay take it out of thare Cettels for yous thay ad a Little suger and is Eaten with fresh Vensen or fowls we yoused it in the Room of Rise and it Did very well as a Substatute for that Grane as it Busts it turns out perfeckly White as Rise. Back from this River the Lands are as Good as Can be Conseaved and Good timber But not Overthick it is Proverbel that the fires Which Ran threw these * * * and Meadows Stops the Groth of ye Wood and Destroise Small wood. I Have Menshund the Vast Numbers of Wild Ducks which faten on ye Wild Rise Eaverey fall. It would Sound two much Like a travelers Storey to Say What I Realey Beleve from What I Have Sean. You Can Purchis them Verey Cheape at the Rate of two Pens Per pese. If you Parfer shuting them yourself you may Kill what you Plese.

An account of the Portage of Wisconstan the South End of this Caring plase is Verey Leavel But in Wet Weather it is Bad On account of the Mud & Water which is two thirds of a Mile and then the Ground Riseis to a Considerabel Hith and Clothed with fine Open Wood & a Hansom Varder [verdure].

This Spot is about the Senter of ye Portage and takes up about a Quorter Part of it. The South End is Low, flat and Subject to Weat. It was on this Spot that Old Pinnashon a french man Impose apon Carver Respecting the Indans haveing

a Rattel snake at his call which the Indans Could order into a Box for that purpos as a Peat [pet].[57] This frenchman was a Solder in the troops that ware stasioned at the Elenoas [Illinois]. He was a Sentanal. At the Magasean of Powder he Deserted his Post & toock his Boate up the Miseurea [Missouri] among the Indans and Spent Maney years among them. He Larnt Maney Langwedgeis and from Steap to Steap he Got among the Mandans whare he found Sum french traders who Belongd to the french factorcy at fort Lorain on the Read River.[58] This factorey Belongd to the french traders of Cannaday. These people toock Pinneshon to the factorcy with them and the Consarn toock him into thare Sarvais til the Hole Cuntrey was Given up to the English and he then Came into thare Sarvis. The french Strove to take him up for his Desarson But fald. However thay Orderd him to be Hung in Efagea [effigy] Which was Dun. This is the Acount he Gives of himself. I Have Hard it from his One Lips as he has Bin Relateing his adventures to others. He found Carver on this Spot Going without undirstanding either french or Indan & full of Enquirey threw his Man who Sarved him as an Interptar & thought it a Proper Opertunety to ad Sumthing more to his adventers and Make his Bost of it after which I have Haird Meney times it hurt Carver much hearing such things & Puting Confadens in them while he is Govner. He Gave a Good a Count of the Small Part of the Western Countrey he saw But when he a Leudes to Hearsase he flies from facts in two Maney Instances.

After Two Days Hard Labor We Gits our Canoes at the carring plase with all Our Goods and Incampt on the Bank of the River Wisconstan and Gumd our Canoes fit to descend that River. About Midday we Imbarkt. The River is a Gentel Glideing Streame and a Considerabell Distans to the first Villeag which Lise on the North Side. The River Runs near west from the Portage to the Missippey. Its a Gentel Glideing

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[57] See *ante*, p. 282, note 95.—Ed.

[58] For Fort La Reine see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 427.—Ed.

Streame. As we Desended it we saw Maney Rattel Snakes Swimming Across it and Kild them. The Next Day we Arived at the Villeag where we tarread two Days. This Beaing the last Part of Sept these People had Eavery artickel of Eating in thare way In abundans. I shall Give Sum acount of these People and the Countrey. These People are Cald Saukeas. Thay are of a Good Sise and Well Disposed—Les Inclind to tricks and Bad manners than thare Nighbers. Thay will take of the traders Goods on Creadit in the fall for thare youse. In Winter and Except for Axedant thay Pay the Deapt [debt] Verey Well for Indans I mite have sade Inlitend or Sivelised Indans which are in General made worse by the Operation. Thare Villeag is Bilt Cheafely with Plank thay Hugh Out of Wood—that is ye uprite—the top is Larch [arched] Over with Strong Sapplins Sufficient to Suport the Roof and Covered with Barks which Makes them a tile roof. Sum of thare Huts are Sixtey feet Long and Contanes Several fammalayes. Thay Rase a Platfoarm on Each Side of thare Huts About two feet high and about five feet Broad on which thay Seat & Sleap. Thay have no flores But Bild thar fire on the Ground in the Midel of the Hut and have a Hole threw the Ruf for the Smoke to Pas.[59] In the fall of ye Year thay Leave thare Huts and Go into the Woods in Quest of Game and Return in the Spring to thare Huts before Planting time. The Women Rase Grate Crops of Corn, Been, Punkens, Potatoes, Millans and artikels—the Land is Exaleant—& Clear of Wood Sum Distans from the Villeag. Thare [are] Sum Hundred of Inhabitants. Thare amusements are Singing, Dancing, Smokeing, Matcheis, Gameing, Feasting, Drinking, Playing the Slite of Hand, Hunting and thay are famas in Magcack. Thay are Not Verey Gellas of thare Women. In General the Women find Meanes to Grattafy them Selves without Consent of the Men. The Men often join War parties with other Nations and Go aganst the Indans on the Miseure & west of that. Sometimes thay Go Near St. Fee in New Mexico and Bring with them Spanish Horseis. I have sean meney of

[59] For the site of this Sauk village see *ante*, p. 282, note 96.—Ed.

them. The River aford But a few fish. Thare Woods aford Partrageis, a few Rabeat, Bairs & Decar are Plenty in thare Seasons. Wild foul thay have But few. Thar Religion is Like Most of the tribes. Thay alow thare is two Sperits—One Good Who Dweles a Bove the Clouds, Superintends over all and helps to all the Good things we have and Can Bring Sickness on us if He pleases—and another Bad one who dweles in the fire and air, Eavery whare among men & Sumtimes Dose Mischehef to Mankind.

Cortship & Marriages—At Night when these People are Seating Round thare fires the Elderly one will be teling what thay Have Sean and Heard or Perhaps thay may be on Sum Interesting Subject. The family are lisning. If thare be aney Young Garl in this Lodg or hut that aney Man of a Differant Hut Has a Likeing for he will Seat among them. The Parson of his Arrant [errand] Being Prasent hea will Watch an Opertunety & through [throw] a Small Stick at [her] Hair. If She Looks up with a Smile it is a Good Omen. He Repets a Second time Perhaps ye Garle will Return the Stick. The Semtam [symptom] ar Still Groing Stronger and when thay think Proper to Ly Down to Slepe Each Parson Raps himself up in his One Blanket. He taks Notis whar the Garl Seats for thare she slepes. When all the famaley are Qui[e]t a[nd] Perhaps a Sleap he Slips Soffely into that and Seat himself Down By her Side. PresantLey he will Begin to Lift Her Blanket in a Soft maner. Perhaps she may twich it Out of his hand with a Sort of a Sie & Snore to Gather But this is no Kiling Matter. He Seats awhile and Makes a Second Atempt. She May Perhaps Hold the Blankead Down Slitely. At Lengh she turns Over with a Sith and Quits the Hold of the Blanket * * * This Meatherd [method] is Practest a Short time and then ye young Indan will Go ahunting and [if] he is Luckey to Git meat he Cum and Informs the famaley of it and where it is he Brings the Lung and hart with him and thay Seat of after the Meat and Bring it Home this Plesis [pleases] and he Begins to Gro Bold in the famerley. The Garl after that will not Refuse him * * * He Will then

Perhaps Stay about the famerley a Year and Hunt for the Old father But in this Instans he gives his Conseant that thay may Sleap togather and when thay Begin to have Children thay save what thay can git for thare One youse and Perhaps Live in a Hut apart. After I had Given them a number of Cradeat [credit] to Receve Payment the Next Spring I Desended to the fox Villeag on the Same River and Same Sid about fiftey Miles Distans. Hear I meat a differant Sort of People who was Bread at Detroit under the french Government and Clarge [clergy]; till thay By Chrisanising Grew so Bad thay ware Oblige to Go to War aganst them. Tho thay Lived Within thre Miles of the Garrson and among the Inhabitants, thay Was Obliged to fite them and killed Grate Numbers of them. The Remander flead to the fox River whare thay made a Stand and Treated the traders Going to the Missaseepey Verey Ill and Pilleaged them. At Lengh thay went a Stronge Partey aganst them and Beat them back to whare thay Now are But in Sad Sarkamstansis [circumstances] to what thay ware Before thay took So much on them selves.[60] As I Aprocht the Banks of the Villeag I Perseaved a Number of Long Pa[i]nted Poles on which Hung a Number of Artickels, Sum Panted Dogs and also a Grate Number of Wampum Belts with a Number of Silver Braslets and other Artickels in the Indan way. I Inquired the Cause. Thay told me thay Had a Shorte time Before had a Sweapeing Sicknes among them which had Caread of Grate Numbers of Inhabitans & thay had offered up these Sacrafisces to Apease that Being who was Angrey with them and sent the Sickness—that it was much Abated tho thar was Sum Sick. Still I told them thay Had Dun Right and to take Cair that thay Did not Ofend him Agane for fear a Grater Eavel myte befall them. Thare Villeag was Bilt in the Sam form & ye sam Like Materls [materials] as the Saukeas Produse of the Ground—the Same & Brote in the Same By the

[60] This village is located *ante*, p. 282, note 97. Pond is here summarizing the series of Fox wars. See Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1907, pp. 142-188.—Ed.

Women But not in so Grate Plentey as the former one on Account of thare Late sickness. I taread hear One Day.

After Suplying myself with such Artickels as I wanted and thay Had to Spare I gave them Sum Creadeat and Desended the River to the Mouth which Emteys into the Masseippey and Cros that River and Incampt. The Land along the River as you desend Apears to be Exalant. Just at Night as we ware InCampt we Perseaved Large fish Cuming on the Sarfes of the Water. I had then a Diferant trader with me who had a number of Men with him. We were Incampt Near Each other. We Put our Hoock and Lines into the Water and Leat them Ly all nite. In the Morning we Perseaved thare was fish at the Hoocks and went to the Wattr Eag [water's edge] and halld on our line. Thay Came Heavey. At Lengh we hald one ashore that wade a Hundered and four Pounds—a Seacond that was One Hundered Wate—a third of Seventy five Pounds. The Men was Glad to Sea this for thay Had not Eat mete for Sum Days nor fish for a long time. We asked our men How meney Men the Largest would Give a Meale. Sum of the Largest Eaters Sade twelve men Would Eat it at a Meal. We Agread to Give ye fish if thay would find twelve men that would undertake it. Thay Began to Dres it. The fish was what was Cald the Cat fish. It Had a large flat Head Sixteen Inches Betwene the Eise. Thay Skind it—Cut it up in three larg Coppers Such as we have for the Youse of our men. After it was Well Boild thay Sawd it up and all Got Round it. Thay Began and Eat the hole without the least thing with it But Salt and Sum of them Drank of the Licker it was Boild in. The Other two was Sarved out to the Remainder of the People who finished them in a Short time. Thay all Declard thay felt the Beater of thare Meale Nor did I Perseave that Eney of them ware Sick or Complaind. Next Morning we Recrost ye River which was about a Mile Brod and Mounted about three Miles til we Come to the Planes of the Dogs [Prairie du Chien] so Cald the Grate Plase of Rondavues for the traders and Indans Before thay Dispars for thare Wintering Grounds. Hear we Meat a Larg Number of french and

Indans Makeing out thare arangements for the InSewing winter and sending of thare cannoes to Differant Parts—Like wise Giveing Creadets to the Indans who ware all to Rondoveuse thare in Spring. I Stayed ten days Sending of my men to Differant Parts. I had Nine Clarks which I Imploid in Differant Rivers that fel into the River.

When I had finished my Matters Hear in October I Seat of with two traders in Company for St. Peters River which was a Hundred Leags up the River But the Season was faverabel and we went on Sloley to Leat the Nottawaseas Git Into the Plain that we Mite not be trubeld with them for Creadit as thay are Bad Pay Marsters. In Going up the River we had Plenty of fat Gease and Duks with Venson—Bares Meat in abandans—so that we Lived as Well as hart Could Wish on Such food—Plentey of flower, tea, Coffee, Sugar and Buter, Sperits and Wine, that we faird Well as Voigers. The Banks of ye River aforded us Plentey of Crab Apels which was Verey Good when the frost Had tuchd them at a Sutabel tim. We Enter St. Peters River and Proseaded up it as far as we thought Best Without Seaing an Indan Except what we toock with us. We Incampt on a High Bank of the River that we mite not Be Overflone in the Spring at the Brakeing up of the Ice, and Bilt us Comfortbel Houseis for the Winter and trade During the Winter & Got our Goods under Cover.

To be Intelagabel [intelligible] I Go back to the Planes of the Dogs—this Plane is a Very Handsum one Which is on the East Side of the River on the Pint of Land Betwene the Mouth of Wisconstan whare it Emties in to the Masseppey & the Last River. The Plane is Verey Smooth hear. All the traders that Youseis [uses] that Part of the Countrey & all the Indans of Several tribes Meat fall & Spring whare the Grateist Games are Plaid Both By french & Indans. The french Practis Billiards—ye latter Ball. Hear the Botes from New Orleans Cum. Thay are navagated By thirtey Six men who row as maney oarse. Thay Bring in a Boate Sixtey Hogseats of Wine on one * * * Besides Ham, Chese &c—all to trad with the french & Indans.

Thay Cum up the River Eight Hundred Leages. These Amusements Last three or four weakes in the Spring of the Year. As we Proseaded up the River we found the Land & timber to be Exalant—fit for Eney Improvement. As we Past up St Peters River about fourteen miles We Stopt to Sea Carvers Hut whare he Past his Winter when in that Countrey. It was a Log House about Sixteen feet long Covered With Bark—With a fireplase But one Room and no flore. This was the Extent of his travels. His Hole toure I with One Canoe Well maned Could make in Six weeks. We Go forward to the Goods—we made Ourselves Comfortbel for the Winter. In Desember the Indans Sent Sum young men from the Planes a Long the River to Look for traders & thay found us. After Staying a few days to Rest them thay Departed with the Information to thare frends. In Jany thay Began to Aproach us & Brot with them Drid & Grean Meet, Bever, Otter, Dear, fox, Woolf, Raccone & other Skins to trade. Thay ware Welcom and we Did our bisnes to advantage. Threw the Winter I had a french man for my Nighber Who had Winterd among the Nottawase Several Winters in this River Well Knone By the Differant Bands. I perseaved that he Seamd to have a Prefrans & Got more trade than myself. We ware good frends. I told him he Got more than his Share of trade But Obsarved at ye Same time it was not to be Wonderead at as he had Bin Long a Quanted. He Sade I had not Hit on ye Rite Eidea. He Sade that the Indans of that Quorter was Given to Stealing and aspachely the women. In Order to Draw Custom he Left a few Brass things for the finger on the Counter —Sum needels & awls which Cost But a trifel, Leattel Small Knives, * * * Bell and such trifles. For the sake of Stealing these trifels thay Com to Sea him and what thay Had for trade he Got. I Beleaved what he sade and tried the Expereament—found it to Prove well after which I kept up Sides. Well thare was not Ency thing Extrodnerey Hapend Dureing the Winter. We Proseaded eastward with ease & Profet till Spring. At the Brakeing up of the Ice In the River in Spring the Water Rose twentey Six feat from its Common sarfes & Made Sad Work with its Banks.

At the yousal time We prepard to Desend to the Planes of the Dogs—I Shall not Make Eney Observations upon these People Nor Planes til the Insewing Year when I had a fair Opertunity. The Waters Sun went of or fell and we Imbarkt & Drifted Down with the Currant till we Came to the Plane whare we Saw a Large Colection from Eavery Part of the Misseppey who had arived Before us—Even from Orleans Eight Hundred Leages Belowe us. The Indans Camp Exeaded a Mile & a half in Length. Hear was Sport of All Sorts. We went to Colecting furs and Skins * * * By the Differant tribes with Sucksess. The french ware Veray Numeres. Thare was Not Les than One Hundred and thirtey Canoes which Came from Mackenaw Caring from Sixtey to Eightey Hundred wate Apease all Made of Birch Bark and white Seder for the Ribs. Those Boates from Orleans & Ilenoa and other Parts ware Numeres. But the natives I have no true Idea of thair Numbers. The Number of Packs of Peltrey of Differant Sorts was Cald fifteen Hundred of a Hundred wt Each which went to Mackana. All my outfits had Dun well. I had Grate Share for my Part as I furnish Much the Largest Cargo on the River. After all the Bisness Was Dun and People Began to Groe tirde of Sport, thay Began to Draw of for thare Differant Departments and Prepare for the Insewing winter.

In July I arived at Mackenaw whare I found my Partner Mr. Graham from New York with a Large Cargo. I had Dun So well that I Proposd to bye him Out of ye Consarn & take it on my Self. He Excepted and I Paid of the first Cargo and well on towards the One he had Brot me. Nothing Extrodneray worth Notis Hapend hear. Dureing my Stay I Apleyd my Self Closely to Ward fiting Out a Cargo for the Same Part of the Country. Hear was a Grate Concors of People from all Quorters Sum Prepareing to take thair furs to Cannadey—Others to Albaney & New York—Others for thare Intended Wintering Grounds—Others trade in with the Indans that Come from Differant Parts with thare furs, Skins, Suger, Grease, taller &c—while Others ware amuseing themselves in Good Com-

pany at Billiards, Drinking fresh Punch Wine & Eney thing thay Please to Call for While the More vulgar Ware fiteing Each other. Feasting was Much atended to—Dansing at Nite with Respectabel Parsons. Notwithstanding the feateages of the Industress the time Past of agreabely for two Months when the Grater Part ware Ready to Leave the Plase for thare Differant Wintering Ground.

I Had now a Large & Rich Cargo But about the first of august thare arivd a trader from Lake Superior with the Disagreabel News that the Nawasease & Ottawese[61] had Bin Killing Each other and Made it Dangres for the traders to Go in to the Countrey Except the Commander Would Interfare And Indeaver to Reconsile the Parties and a Counsel was Cald of all the traders and the Commander Laid his Information Befoar the Counsel and told them it was out of his Power to Bring the Government into Ency Expens in Sending to these But Desird that we would fall on Wase & Means among Ourselves and he would Indeaver to youse his Influens as Commanding Offeser. We heard and thanked him We then Proseaded to Contrebute towardes Makeing Six Large Belts of Wampum—thre for the Notawaysease and three for the Ochpwase [Ojibwas] Thay ware Compleated under the Gidans of the Comander and Speacheis [speeches] Rote to Both Nations. I was Bound to the Senter of the Notawaseas Contrey up St. Peters River. The Counsel with ye Commander thought Proper to Give me ye Charge of thre Belt with the Speacheis and the traders of Lake Superer Ware Charged with the Others. The Import of the Bisness was that I should Send out Carrears [carriers] into the Planes and * * * all the Chefes to Repare to my tradeing House on the Banks of St Peters River in the Spring and thare to Hear & Obsarve the Contents of the Offesers Speache and Look at the Belts and understand thare Meaning—Likewise to Imbark and Acompany me to Mackenac. Those in Superior had the same

[61] Apparently, according to the context, a slip for Chippewa. The Sioux-Chippewa perpetual enmity was liable at any time to develop into war.—Ed.

Orders. I Complide on my Part to Grate advantage and asembled Eleven Chefes who went with me Besides a Number of Conscripted Men. By the Intarpretar I had the Speach Expland and the Intenshun of the Belts—and after we had got Ready for Saleing we all Imbarkt and went down the River to its Mouth. Hear we found Sum traders who Com from near the Head of the Misseppey with Sum Chipewa Chefes with them. I was Much Surprised to Sea them So Ventersum among the People I had with me for the Blod was scairs Cold —the Wound was yet fresh—But while we Stade thare a Young Smart Looking Chef Continued Singing the Death Song as if he Dispised thare threats or torments. After we had Made a Short Stay hear we Imbarkt for the Planes of the Dogs whare we joined a Vast Number of People of all Descripsions Wateing for me to Cum Down and go to Macanac to Counsel for these People Had never Bin thare or out of thare Countrey Except on a War Party. It Excited the Cureosatay of Everay Nation South of the Lake of the Woods and from that was a Number Chefes which was more than two thousand Miles. Indead the Matter was Intresting all Parties Espechaley to the trading Party for the following Reson—Each of these Nations are as much Larger than Eney of thare Nighbering Nations as the Inhabitans of a Sittey are to a Villeag and when thay are at Varans [variance] Property is not Safe Even traveling threw thare Countrey. When we Left the Plane of the Dogs Everay Canoe Made the Best of thare Way up Osconsen [Wisconsin] to the Portage and Got over as fast as thay could and Got over the Portage. While we ware on the Portage one of my men Informed me that thare was an Indan from St. Peters River that was in Morneing for his Departed friend and Wished me to take of the Morneing for he had Worn it long anuf I Desired he mite Cum to me which was Dun. He was Blacked with Cole from the fire—Hand & face. His Haire was hanging over his Eyes. I askd what I should Due for him. He Desird that his Haire mite be Pluckd out to the Crown of his Head, his face and hands washed and a white

Shirt Put on him. I Complied with the Request and Seat him on the Ground—Seat a Cupel of Men to work and with the asistans of a Leattel Asheis [ashes] to Prevent thare fingers Slipping thay soon had his head as Smooth as a Bottle. He washt up and I Put a white Shirt on him which Made the fellow so thankfull to think that he could Apear in a Deasant Manner that he Could scairs Contain himself.

We Desended the fox River to the Botam of Greane Bay So cald and thare joined the Hole of ye Canoes Bound to Macena [Mackinac]. The way ther was fair and Plesant we all Proseaded together across Lake Misheagan At the End of two days we all apeard on the Lake about five Miles from Macenac and Aproacht in Order. We had flags on the Masts of our Canoes—Eavery Chefe his flock. My Canoes Beaing the Largest in that Part of the Cuntrey and haveing a large Youon [Union] flage I Histed it and when within a Mile & a half I took ye lead and the Indans followed Close behind. The flag in the fort was histed—ye Cannon of the Garreson Began to Play Smartley—the Shores was lind with People of all sorts, who Seat up Such a Crey and hooping which Seat the Tribes in the fleat a Going to that Degrea that you Could not Hear a Parson Speak. At Lengh we Reacht ye Shore and the Cannon Seasd. I then toock my Partey to the Commander who treated us verey Well.[62] I Seat with them an Our and

[62] The commandant at that time was Capt. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, a native of New York (1736), nephew of Peter Schuyler of Albany. De Peyster was partly educated in England, and entered the British army in 1755. Two years later he received his commission as lieutenant in the 8th (or King's) infantry, and remained with his regiment in England until 1768, when he embarked for Canada. The same year he received his captaincy. In 1774, leaving Quebec May 4, he was sent to command at Mackinac, where after three years' service he became major of his regiment. He remained at Mackinac until after the capture of Henry Hamilton (1779), when he was promoted to the post of Detroit. Relieved in 1784, he was stationed for a short time at Niagara, and returned with his regiment to England the next year. In 1795 he retired from active service and settled at Dumfries, Scotland, where he had the acquaintance of the poet Burns.

Related the afare and what I had Dun & what Past Dureing the Winter. After Interreduseing the Chefe I Went to my one House where I found a number of Old frends with whom I spent the Remainder of the Day. The People from Lake Supercor had arivd Befour us and that Day and the next Day the Grand Counsel was Held Before Comander in the Grate Chamber Befour a Vast Number of Spectators whare the Artickels of Pece Ware Concluded and Grate Promises ware Mad on Both Sides for Abideing and adhearing Closely to the artikels to Prevent further Blodshed the Prinsapel of which was that the Nottaweses Should Not Cros the Missacepey to the East Side to Hunt on thare Nighbers Ground—to Hunt Nor bread Eney Distarbans on the Chipewan Ground. Thay Should Live By the Side of Each other as frinds and Nighbers. The Chipewase Likewise Promis On thare Part Strickly to Obsareve the Same Reagulations on thare Part toward ye Nottawasis—that thay Will not Cross the River to hunt on the West Side—After all the artickels ware Drown up thay all Sind them. The Commander then Made a Presant of a Cag of Rum to Each Nation and thay left the fort and went to thare Camp Whare thay Seat Round and Ingoied thare Presant—Sung a fue Songs and went to Rest in a Verey Sivel Manner. The Next Day thare was a Larg fat ox Kild and Coked By the Solgers. All of the nations were Biden to the feast. Thay Dined to Geather in Harmoney, & finished the day in Drinking Moderately, Smokeing to Gather, Singing & Britening the Chane of frindship in a Veray Deasant Way. This was Kept up for four Days when the Offeser Mad them Each a Present and thay all Imbark for thare One Part of thair Cuntrey.

I now Go back to the Planes of the Dogs and St Peters River to Give a nartive of Sum thing that I Have Omited in

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De Peyster was himself fond of rhyming; his *Miscellanies* (Dumfries, 1813) contain some curious material on Indian affairs, and events in the Northwest during the Revolution. De Peyster died at Dumfries in 1822.—Ed.

the foregoing work As folowes. I Perseaved that the Indans ware Uneasy In thare Minds about Sumthing. I Enquird of them what Had Befel them. Thay gave me to understand thare was a Parson at that Plase that Had an Eevel Sperit. He Did things Beond thare Conseption. I wishd to Sea him and Being Informd who he was I askd him Meney Questions. I found him to be a french man who Had Bin Long among the Nations on the Misura that Came that Spring from the Henoas to the Planes of the Dogs. He had the Slite of Hand Cumpleately and Had Such a Swa [sway] over the tribes with whom he was aquanted that thay Consented to Moste of his Requests. Thay Gave him the Name of Minneto [Manitou] which is a Sperit In thare Langueg. As he was Standing Among Sum People thare Came an Indan up to them with a Stone Pipe or Callemeat Carelessly Rought and which he Seat Grate Store By. Minneto askd ye Indan to Leat him Look at it and he Did so. He wished to Purchis it from the Indan But he would not Part with it. Minneto then Put it into his Mouth as the Indan Supposed and Swallod it. The Poor Indan Stood Astonished. Minneto told him not to trubel himself about it—he Should Have his Pipe agane in two or three Days—it Must first pass threw him. At the time Seat the Pipe was Presented to the Indan. He Looked upon it as if he Could not Bair to Part with it But would not Put his hand upon it Minneto Kept the Pipe for Nothing. It was three times Larger than Minnetos Mouth. It was Made of the Read Stone of St. Peters River so Much asteamd among the Eastern and Southern Nations.[63]

I then Embarkt the Thirteenth Day I arived and put my Goods into the Same House I Had Winterd In ye year before, I Heard

[63] The quarry from which this stone was obtained is situated in Pipestone County, in southwest Minnesota, and had great repute among the Indians, who believed in its sacred character and observed neutrality at this place. It was first described by George Catlin, the Indian artist, who visited the site in 1836. From this circumstance, the stone has been called "catlinite." See description in Minnesota Geological Survey *Report*, 1877, pp. 97–109.—Ed.

By Sum Indans thare was a Large Band of the Natives Incampt on the Banks of the River about Two Hundred Miles above me Which Wanted to Sea a trader. I Conkluded ameatley [immediately] to Put a Small asortment of Goods Into a Cannoe and Go up to them—a thing that never was atempted Before By the Oldest of the traders on Acount of the Rudeness of those People who ware Nottawaseas By Nation But the Band was Cald Yantonoes[64]—the Cheafe of the Band allwase Lead them on the Plaines. As I was about to Imbark the Cheafe arived to Give me an Invatation to Cum up and trade with them. I agreed and we Seat of toGather—I By water and he by Land. I was Nine days Giting up to thare Camp. The Cheafe arived Befour me—his Rout was Shorter than Mine by Cuting across the Plaines. When I arived within three Miles of ye Camp it Beaing Weat Wather and Cold I Incampt and Turned up my Canoe Which Made us a grand Shelter. At Night it Began to Snow and frease and Blowe Hard. We ware then on a Larg Sand flat By the River Side. Earley in the Morning the wind took the Canew up in the Air—Leat hir fall on the frozen flat and Broke hir in Pecis. I was then in a Sad Situation. About Noon I Perseaved a Number of the Natives on ye Opaset Sid of the River Aproaching me—Sum on Horsback—Others on foot. When thay Came Near finding the Situation we ware in thay forded the River and offerd me thare Asistans to take my Goods up to thare Camp. I was Glad and Exepted thare offer. We Marcht on with Our Loded

[64] The Yankton branch of the Dakota was probably first mentioned by Le Sueur in his classification, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 193, 194. Its habitat lay west of the M'dewakantonwan (or Spirit Lake) band, who usually were encountered near St. Anthony Falls, and upon the plains of Vermillion, James, and Big Sioux rivers. Pond would seem to have been the first English trader to venture among them. When Lewis and Clark ascended the Missouri in 1804, they met the Yankton Indians, whose trade was mostly in British hands. Although rude and uncivilized they were more friendly than other Dakota bands. To the number of 3,000, they still dwell on South Dakota and Montana reservations.—Ed.

Horses and Cuming Near the Camp Made a Stop and Seat Down on the Ground. I Perseaved five Parsons from the Camp Aproching—four was Imployd in Caring a Beaver Blanket finely Panted—the Other Held in his Hand a Callemeat or Pipe of Pece—Verey finely Drest with Differant feathers with Panted Haire. They all Seat By me Except the one who Held the Pipe. Thay Ordered the Pipe Lit With a Grate dele of Sarremoney. After Smokeing a fue Whifs the Stem was Pinted East and West—then North and South—then upward toward the Skies—then to ye Earth after which we all Smoked in turn and Apeard Verey frendlye. I Could not understand one word thay said But from thare actions I Supposed it to be all frendship. After smokeing thay toock of my shoes and Put on me a pair of fine Mockasans or Leather shoes of thare One make Raught in a Cureas Manner—then thay Lade me Down on the Blanket—One Hold of Each Corner and Cared me to the Camp In a Lodg among a Verey Vennarable Asembley of Old men. I was Plased at the Bottom or Back Part which is Asteamed the Highist Plase. After Smokeing an Old man Ros up on his feet with as much Greaveatey as Can be Conseaved of he Came to me—Laid his Hands on my Head and Grond out—I—I—I three times—then drawed his Rite Hand Down on my Armes faneing [feinging] a Sort of a Crey as if he Shead tears—then Sit Down—the Hole follode the Same Exampel which was twelve in Number.[65] Thare was in the Midel of the Lodg a Rased Pece of Ground about five Inchis in Hight five feet long two and a half Brod on which was a fire & Over that Hung three Brass Kettels fild with Meete Boiling for a feast. While we ware Imployd in this Sarremony thare was wateing at the Dore four men to take me up and Care

[65] This singular custom among the Sioux had been noted ever since the days of Father Hennepin, who in 1680 describes his welcome as follows: "Many Nights together some or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. These Tears gave us many uneasie thoughts." Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery* (Chicago, 1903), i, p. 244.—Ed.

[carry] me to another feast. At Lengh an Old man toock up some of the Vittels out of one of ye Kittles which apeared to be a Sort of Soope thick and with Pounded Corn Mele. He fead me with three Sponfuls first and then Gave me the Dish which was Bark & the Spoon Made out of a Buffeloes Horn to fead myself. As I had Got a good apatite from the fateages of the Day I Eat Hartey. As Sun as I had Got threw with my Part of ye feast I was Desird to Steap Out the Dore which I Did. The People in Wateing then toock me and Laid me on Another Skin and Carred me to another Lodg whare I went threw the same Sarremony. There was not a Woman Among them—then to a third after which I was taken to a Large [lodge] Prepaird for me in which they had Put my People and Goods with a Large Pile of wood and Six of thare Men with Spears to Gard it from the Croud. At four oclock I Cummenced a trade with them But ye Croud was So Grate that the Chefe was Obliged to Dubel this Gard and I went on with my trade in Safety—Seventy five Loges at Least ten Parsons in Each Will Make Seven Hundred and fifty. My People ware Bystanders—Not a word—Not a Word to Say or Acte. The Chefe who Came Down the River to Envite me up to trade with them Gave me to understand that my trade was to Begin at Sundown But he was absent When thay Compeld me to Begin Befoar the time—he Like wise told me If I was to Contend with them thay Mite take all that I had. I was in a Bad Sittuation But at Sundown the Chefe arived and seeing the Crowd Grate he put to the Gard Six Men more and took the Charge on himself. He was as Well Obade & Kept up as Smart Disapline as I Ever Saw One of ye Band was more than Commonly Dairing—he Ordered one of the Gard to throw his Lans threw him In Case he persisted in his Imperdens—the fellow Came again—the Sentanal threw his lans & it went threw his Close and Drew a Leattel Blod But he neaver atempted agane. I Continued my trade till Near Morning. By that time thare furs ware Gon. Thay Prepard to March of as thay had Lane on the Spot Sum time Befour my arival

thay had Got out of Provishon. I was not in a Situation to Asist them Beaing Destatute Myself. By Day Lite I Could Not Sea One But the Chefe who Cept Close By me to the Last to Prevent aney Insult which Mite arise as thay ware Going of. The reson of the Behaver of these People is thay Never Saw a trader Before On thare One Ground or at Least Saw a Bale of Goods Opend. Sum traders Long Before sent thare Goods into the Planes with thare Men to trade with these People—thay Often would have them Cheaper than the french men Could sell them. These People would fall on them and take ye Goods from them at thair One Price til thay Could Not Git Eney. I was the first that atempted to go thare With a Bale of Goods. These People are in thare Sentaments Verey Averishas But in this Instans thay Made not the Least Demand for all thare Sarvis. Late in the Morneing the Chefe Left me. I went to work Bundling or Packing my furs which I Got from them.

I was now Destatute of frends or assistans Except my One men and thay Could not aford me Aney Asistans in the Provishon Line of Which I was Much in want. Nighther Could thay Asist me in the transportation of My furs. I then Concluded to Leave a Boy to take Care of them until we Could Return with Sum Provishon. The Poor fellow Seamd Willing to Stay By himself and all we Could aford him was three Handfulls of Corn. In Case of want I Left Him two Bever Skins which Had Sum Meat on them and Wone Bever Skin which he Could Singe the haire of and Roste in the fire that he Mite Live in Cas we ware Gon Longer than we Calkalated. The furs ware in a Good Lodg that he mite keep himself warm. We Left him in that Sittuation and Got Back to the House Whare we had Left the Goods By Crossing the Plaines. I found all Safe and the Clark had Colected a Leattel Provishon But the Provishons Could not Be sent to the Boy on Acount of the Wather [weather] Seating in So Bad that the men would not undertake to Go across the Plane. Sum Days after it Grew More Modrat and thay Seat of five in Number and Reacht him in fifteen Days from the time we Left him. Thay

found him well But feeble. Thay Gave him to Eat Moderately at first and he Ganed Strength. Thay Went to work and Put the furs on a Scaffle [scaffold] out of the way of Woods [wolves] or Eney Varment and all Seat of for home. The Day Befour thay arived thay ware Overtaken By a Snow Storm on the Planes & Could not Sea thare Way Near Right. Thay Seat Down on the Plane thare Beaing no Wood Nigh and Leat the Snow Cover them Over. Thay Had thare Blankets about them. Thay ware in the Morning—it was Clear with ye Wind Nowest [Nor' west] and freaseing hard. Thay Dug out of the Snow and Beaing Weat in Sum of thare feet thy Was Badley frosted tho Not More than ten Miles to Walk. The Boy ascaped as well as Eney of them—I Beleve the Best. I had a Long job to Heal them But without the Los of a Limb.

The Natives Had found out whare we ware and Came in with Meet and furs to trade. While I was up the River among the Band I Informd the Chefe of the Belts I had with me and ye Commanding offisers Speach and Desird him to Make a Speach Befour thay Decampt. This Chefes name was Arechea. The Chefe that Came to me first Had a Smattran [smattering] of the Ochipway tung—so much so that we understood Each Other at Least Suffisantly to Convarse or Convae our IDease [ideas]. He Made a Long Speach. By the yousel [usual] Sine of a Shout threw the Camp thay ware willing to Cumply. In the Spring I sent my People after the furs thay Had Put on a Scaffel in the Winter. Thay Had an Indan Hunter with them who Kild them Sum Buffeloes. The men Cut Down Small Saplens and Made the frames of two Boates—Sowed the Skins toGather and Made Bottoms to thare frames—Rub'd them Over with tallow which Made them tite anuf to Bring the furs Down to me whare I had Canoes to Receve them.[66]

On acount of the fase of the Countrey and Site the Enter-

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[66] Boats made of skins, especially buffalo hides, were much in use upon the Missouri. For an illustration of these primitive craft see *Early Western Travels*, (atlas volume) xxv, plate 48.—Ed.

vales of the River St Peter is Exsalant & Sum Good timber—the Intervels are High and the Soile thin & lite. The River is Destatute of fish But the Wood & Meadowes abundans of Annamels, Sum turkeas, Buffeloes are Verey Plentey, the Common Dear are Plentey, and Larg, the Read and Moose Dear are Plentey hear, Espeshaley the former. I have seen fortey Kild in One Day By Surounding a drove on a low spot By the River side in the Winter Season. Raccoons are Verey Large. No Snakes But Small ones which are not Pisenes. Wolves are Plentey—thay follow the Buffeloes and often Destroy thare young & Olde Ones. In Winter the Natives near the Mouth of the River Rase Plentey of Corn for thare one Concumtion [consumption]. The Manners and Customs of ye Yantonose—the Band I saw up the River are Nottawases By Nation But By Sum Intarnal Dispute thay ware Separated into Six Differant Bands Each Band Lead By Chefes of thare One Chois.

The Names of Each tribe—1 the Yantonose—2 the Band of the Leaves—3 the Band of the wes—4 the Band of the Stone House.[67] The other two Bands are North one Cald assonebones the other Dogs Ribs. These ware One Nation formaley and Speke the Same Langwege at this Day.[68] Ye Yantonose

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[67] The band of the Leaves was the Wapeton branch of the Dakota, called by the French Gens de Feuilles. According to both Zebulon Pike and Lewis and Clark, this band had its habitat upon the St. Peters; they are now on Devil's Lake reservation.

The band of "wes" is the Waqpekute, or Leaf-buds, one of the divisions of the Santee (Issati of Hennepin). They dwelt on the Mississippi between Prairie du Chien and the mouth of the St. Peters. Wabasha, a powerful Sioux chief, was the head of this band.

The "band of the stone house" was the Sisseton division of the Dakota, whose habitat was on St. Peters River. Their name signified "band of the fort," which Pond renders as "stone house."

[68] The Assiniboin are an offshoot of the Dakota (or Sioux), supposed to have split off from the Yankton band. For their habitat, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, p. 189.

The Dog-rib are not of Dakota stock, unless Pond is speaking of some obscure tribe. The known Indians of this designation are of Athapascan (or Déné) stock, dwelling in the far north between

are faroshas [ferocious] and Rude in thare Maners Perhaps Oeing in Sum masher to thare Leadig an Obsger [obscure] life in the Planes. Thay are not Convarsant with Evrey other tribe. Thay Seldom Sea thare Nighbers. Thay Leade a wandering Life in that Extensive Plane Betwene the Miseura & Missicippey. Thay dwell in Leather tents Cut Sumthing in form of a Spanish Cloke and Spread out by thirteen in the shape of a Bell—the Poles Meet at the top But the Base is forten in Dimerter—thay Go into it By a Hole Cut in the Side and a Skin Hung Befour it By Way of a Dore—thay Bild thare fire in the Middel and do all thare Cookery over it—at Night thay Lie down all around the Lodg with thare feat to the fire. Thay Have a Grate Number of Horses and Dogs which Carres there Bageag when thay Move from Plase to Plase. Thay Make youse of Buffeloes dung for fuel as there is but little or no Wood upon the Planes. Thay are Continuely on the Watch for feare of Beaing Sarprised By thare Enemise who are all Round them. Thare war Implements are Sum fire armes, Boses and arroes & Spear which thay have Continuely in thare hands. When on the March at Nite thay Keep out Parteas on the Lookout. Thay Run down the Buffelow with thare Horses and Kill as Much Meat as thay Please. In Order to have thare Horseis Long Winded thay Slit thair Noses up to the Grissel of thare head which Make them Breath Verey freely. I Have Sean them Run with those of Natrall Nostrals and Cum in Apearantley Not the Least Out of Breath. These when a parson dies among them in winter thay Carrea the Boddey with them til thay Cum to Sum Spot of Wood and thay Put it up on a Scaffel till when the frost is out of the Ground thay Intare [inter] it.[69] Thay Beleve in two Sperits

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Great Slave and Great Bear lakes. Pond had doubtless encountered this tribe during his years of northern exploration, but is mistaken regarding their affinity.—Ed.

[69] For this custom of aerial (or scaffold) burial, see *Early Western Travels*, iv, p. 286; vi, pp. 141, 142; xxiii, pp. 360, 361. One such cemetery is portrayed in "Maximilian's Voyage," *Id.*, xxii, p. 347.—Ed.

—one Good & one Bad.[70] Thay Genaley Get thare wife By Contract with the Parans. Thay are Verey Gellas [jealous] of thare women. It Sumtimes Hapens that a Man will take his Nighbers Wife from him But Both are Oblige to Quit the tribe thay Belong to But it is Seldum you can Hear of Murders Cummitted among them. Thay have Punneshment for thefts among themselves. They Sumtimes Retelate by taking as Much Property from the Ofender if thay Can find it But I Seldum Hurd of thefts among themselves whatever thay Mite Due to others. When thay are Marching or Rideing Over the Planes thay Put on a Garment Like an Outside Vest with Sleves that Cum Down to thare Elboes Made of Soft Skins and Several thicknesses that will turn an arrow at a Distans—and a target two and a half feet in Diameter of the Same Matearal and thickness hung Over thare Sholders that Gards thare Backs. When thare is a Number of them to Gather Going in front of thare Band thay Make a War like apearans. The Planes where these People wander is about four hundred Miles Brod East & West—three hundred North & South. Thay Make all thare Close of Differant Skins. These Parts Produse a Number of Otters which Keep in Ponds and Riveleats on these Planes and Sum Beavers but the Land Anamels are the Mane Object [of] the Natives.

The Spring is now advansing fast.

The Chefes Cuming with a Number of the Natives to Go with me to Mackenac to Sea and Hear what thare farther Had to Say——[71]

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[70] On the subject of their religion consult J. O. Dorsay, "Study of Dakota and Assiniboin Cults," in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 1889-90, pp. 431-544; and Edward D. Neill, *Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1882), pp. 54-60.—Ed.

[71] The remainder of the narrative was destroyed.—Ed.

1776: WESTERN INDIANS REINFORCE CARLETON

[Letter from Maj. A. S. De Peyster to Charles Langlade; reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, p. lxix.]

To Monsieur Langlade Orders

MONSIEUR—You will take command of the savages of this post that consist of People of several nations and some Canadian volunteers, with these you will undertake your journey in order to join the superintendent of Indian affairs in the neighborhood of Montreal or the officer that commands the troops of the King in that Quarter from whom you will receive your orders.[72]

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[72]News of the American revolt must have reached Mackinac in 1775, by way of Montreal and Detroit. Henry Hamilton, who came up from Canada in the autumn of 1775, as lieutenant-governor of the latter place, had already seen Montreal in the hands of the American troops, and Sir Guy Carleton, the British governor, escaping to Quebec; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 267. He would seem to have brought orders for Indian auxiliaries to be sent to Carleton in the spring. But by that time, affairs had changed in Canada. Montgomery had fallen before Quebec; Arnold's ineffectual siege had been raised by the coming of a large force of British and Hessian troops; the Americans had been defeated at the Cedars (April 19, 1776), and their army had finally evacuated Montreal and retreated toward Lake Champlain. June 25, Carleton wrote De Peyster, countermanding his order for Indian auxiliaries—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 174; but it was too late to reverse the order. Before Carleton's note reached Mackinac, Langlade had already (as per this document) received orders to command the reinforcement. A part of the Indians must either have gone in advance, or made a very quick passage, for they were in Montreal by July 19, when they were dismissed with presents and compliments, and orders to be in readiness for the next season's campaign; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 262, 263.

The superintendent of Indian affairs at that time was Guy Johnson, Sir William's nephew and son-in-law; the former's chief deputy was Daniel Claus, his brother-in-law. They held numerous councils with the tribesmen in 1775 and 1776, and induced many to take the warpath against the Americans.—ED.

You will do your best to harass the Rebels wherever you may encounter them, and in all matters you will conduct yourself with your customary prudence and Humanity.[73]

[De Peyster]

At Michilimaquenac, July 4, 1776.

[Letter from Walter Butler to Charles Langlade. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Fort Erie, 16th Novr, 1776.

Sir—In Compliance with an order from Capt. Potts[74] have sent you, a Corporal and Party, with a Batteau, to expedite you in your Intended Journey. I have the Honor to be

Sir, Your very Humb: Servt.

Walter Butler[75]

C. Kings Regt.

Mr. Langland On H. M. Service To Mr. Langland Little Niagara.

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[73] Langlade probably joined Carleton at Isle aux Noix, and although ill during the summer (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 406), performed his duties with satisfaction to the commander-in-chief; see Carleton's testimonial in *Id.*, xii, pp. 39-41. Carleton's letters at this date (Oct. 6, 1776) were written just before the naval battle of Valcour Island, on Lake Champlain. The lateness of the season made it necessary that Langlade should return to Mackinac before that engagement. He went via Niagara and the lakes, as per next document.—Ed.

[74] Capt. William Potts enlisted in the Royal Americans as ensign in 1756, and passed through the various grades until the reduction of that regiment, when he was transferred (1765) to the 8th as lieutenant. The remainder of his military career was passed in this regiment, of which in 1783 he became major. In 1785 the regiment was transferred to England, and the following year Major Potts died or retired. He was stationed on the frontier during nearly all of his military career. In 1758 he was at Ticonderoga, and in 1762 at Niagara. Two years later we find him at Fort Pitt, and again in 1774 at Niagara, where he remained until after 1779. In that year he was characterized as an "old and deserving officer."—Ed.

[75] Walter Butler was a well known Loyalist of Tryon County, N. Y., son of Col. John Butler, of Wyoming valley fame. Before the Revolu-

1777: WISCONSIN INDIANS IN BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN

[Summary of documents published in previous volumes of this series.]

[In the spring of 1777 Langlade was commissioned by Captain De Peyster to secure Indian auxiliaries for the Canadian campaign. Accordingly, in April he began his operations, and June 4 was at Mackinac with sixty Indians. The next day he left for Canada, some Menominee deserting before the start. The Potawatomi of St. Josephs arrived later, and were sent on under command of Louis Chevalier. Charles Gautier arrived still later, with a force of Sauk and Foxes. He reported uneasiness on the Mississippi, due to the intrigues of the Spaniards.[76]

By July 14 Langlade had reported to Carleton at Quebec,[77] and was sent on to join Burgoyne at Lake Champlain. He reached the army while it lay at Skenesborough, and advanced with the troops to Fort Edward. Burgoyne's policy did not please his Indian auxiliaries, for he attempted to restrain their

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tion he was a law-student at Albany, being described as a clever and aristocratic youth. In 1775 he accompanied Guy Johnson to Canada, and in the autumn of that year secured a commission as ensign in the 8th infantry. Probably he participated in the affair of the Cedars (April 19, 1776). He was in service at Niagara late in this year, as the present document proves. In 1777 he joined St. Leger's Mohawk valley campaign, and was captured at a secret meeting of Loyalists, tried as a spy, and condemned to execution. At the intercession of some American officers, however, he was saved, but kept in close confinement at Albany. In the spring of 1778 he made his escape, and it is said planned the raid on Cherry Valley (1778) in retaliation for his imprisonment. His rank is a matter of dispute. His signature here would indicate "captain;" but we cannot discover that he was ever a captain in the regular army, although he may have been such in his father's company of rangers; indeed, he is also occasionally spoken of as "major." He was killed in 1781, on the retreat from a Mohawk valley raid.—Ed.

[76] For these documents see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 405-407; viii, p. 220; xii, pp. 44-46.—Ed.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 46.—Ed.

barbarities. Early in August a Council was held, at which the tribesmen promised obedience; nevertheless they began leaving him in large numbers, and by August 6 scarcely one of the Western Indians was left.[78] Gautier returned to Mackinac in October, and probably Langlade accompanied him.][79]

1777: SPANISH DESCRIBE TRIBESMEN

[MS. in General Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Summary of the Indian tribes of the Misuri River, who are accustomed to come to receive presents at this post, and the number of their warriors; the name of the principal chief of each tribe; the district where they are located; their distance and direction from this village; in what each one is occupied; the profit or harm that each has been in the past; and the enemies of each one.

Little Osages

The tribe of the Little Osages is composed, according to the information of those experienced men who generally make annual trading voyages to them, of three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Balafre [the Scarred One]. Their location is one-half league from the shore of the Misuri River, distant some eighty-five leagues from this village. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt, whence proceeds the fur-trade that is carried on at this post. This tribe has always, as a general thing, been at war with the tribes located on the Misisipy.

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[78] Thomas Anburey, *Travels in North America* (London, 1791), i, pp. 315, 324, 327–330; see also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 167–172.—Ed.

[79] *Id.*, xi, p. 100.—Ed.

However, we have heard this year that they were about to make peace, although the truth of the statement has not yet been verified. And even should it be a fact, since this race is so extremely warlike, that for the consideration of a horse which one tribe steals from the others, they break peace entirely, nothing can be based on this particular, nor can any individual information be given in this matter. Their work or occupation is sufficiently profitable for the fur-trade. The only harm experienced from this tribe in these settlements is the theft of some horses from the habitants, but one can usually succeed quite easily in inducing them to restore these animals.

Misuris

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kaige, and their location is on the very shores of the Misury River, distant about eighty-six or eighty-seven leagues from this village. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of hunting; for although they generally plant some little maize every year, this does not suffice them even for their own support. This tribe is also at war with all the tribes of the Misisipy, and under the same circumstances as have been mentioned in regard to the Little Osages. The work of hunting in which they are occupied is sufficiently profitable for the trade of this post, as witnessed by the fact that they annually produce eighty or ninety packs of furs. The only harm experienced from the people of this tribe is the theft of a few horses from the habitants of this district, although not so frequently as is the case with the Little Osages; and the detaining of the traders who go up the river, for the sole purpose of getting from them some guns, powder, bullets, and other things.

Tribe of the Cances [Kansa]

This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Comy.

They are one hundred and fifty leagues distant from this village, and are located on the banks of the Misury River itself, at a distance of some fifty leagues from the tribe of the Misuris. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt; for although they generally plant some little maize, it does not, as a general thing, suffice for their own necessary support. This tribe is hostile, as a general rule, to the tribes of the said Misury River, named the Hotos, the Panis, and La Republica. For this reason they generally cause a great deal of harm to the traders who are sent to those tribes, for they do not allow them to ascend the river, so that those tribes may not be provided with guns and ammunition. This is the only harm experienced from this tribe. However, we have heard that they were thinking this year of making peace. This tribe has always been at war with all those of the Misisipy. From the work of the hunt in which they are engaged there results the profit of the trade which is made in the furs; for every year that trade produces one hundred and eighty or two hundred packs.

Tribe of La Republica

This tribe is composed of three hundred and fifty or four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Escatapé.[80] They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, and about one hundred and ten from the Misuri River on the shores of the Cances River, and about forty or fifty leagues from the village of the tribe of that name by land. The occupation of that tribe has always been, and is, that of the hunt, from which results the fur-

[80] The Pawnee were divided into four bands: Grand Pawnee, Pawnee Loups (or Panimaha), Tapage, and Republican. The last-named band gave their name to the Republican branch of Kansas River. When Pike visited them in 1806, they had a chief of this name (he spells it Iskatappe); see Elliott Coues, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (New York, 1895), ii, pp. 409, 410. See also the visit of commissioners in "Long's Expedition," *Early Western Travels*, xv, pp 161–165.—Ed.

trade of this post, especially the trade in beaver, buffalo, and otter skins, and some packs of deerskins. This tribe is at war with the tribes of the Cances and the Big Osages.

Tribe of the Hotos [Oto]

This tribe is composed of some hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is La Bala [The Bullet]. They are located some two hundred and twenty leagues from this village, about ninety-five from the village of the Cances, and about fifteen leagues from the Misury River, on the shores of the Platte River.[81] Their chief occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt, especially that of deer and beaver. This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Canzes, Big Osages, and the Cionco, who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district.

Tribe of the Panis [Pawnee]

This tribe is composed of five or six hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Sokakahige. They are located about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village, and about fifteen leagues from the Hotos tribe, on a small stream that branches off from the Plata River. Their occupation has always been, and is, that of the hunt in beavers, buffaloes, and some otter, from which results the trade of this village. This tribe is hostile to the Canzes and the Cioux tribes who are located on the Misisipy in the Spanish district. This tribe gives considerable time to the cultivation of maize,

[81] This is the tribe known to Americans as Oto; see *ante*, p. 178, note 21. Once very powerful, they lived upon the Missouri, but depleted by wars retreated to a village on the Platte. There Lewis and Clark found them in 1804, and sent for their chiefs to a council near the site of Omaha. The explorers mention in their journal one chief named "Iron Eyes"—possibly the same as this one called "La Bala." Thwaites, *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1905), i, p. 113. The Oto are of Siouan stock, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century numbered about five hundred. Some remnant of this tribe is still to be found in Oklahoma. See "Long's Expeditions," in *Early Western Travels*, xv, pp. 130–132.—Ed.

and they can on that account be easily reduced to the cultivation of any other product. This is the tribe from whom we experience the best treatment, and in whom we find the most docile disposition.

Tribe of the Majas [Omaha]

This tribe is composed of four hundred and fifty or five hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Pajaro Negro [Blackbird]. They are located some two hundred and eighty leagues from this village, about thirty-five or forty leagues overland from the Panis tribe, on a small tributary to the Misury, at a distance of about sixty leagues from the mouth of the Plata River.[82] Their occupation has always been, and is, that of hunting beaver, deer, buffalo, and stags, from which results the trade of this post. This tribe is hostile to that of the Canzes but we have never experienced any harm from this tribe. Their occupation in the cultivation of the soil extends only to the planting of maize and pumpkins for their necessary support.

The Big Osages

This tribe is composed of eight hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Cleromon [Clermont]. They are located by water one hundred and eighty leagues from this village, and overland about one hundred and

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82 For this tribe see *ante*, p. 188, note 42. The chief Blackbird is noted in legendary annals. He was reputed to be a great magician, and able to cause the death of any one whom he wished. This power was said to have been due to his possession of arsenic, with which he poisoned his enemies. See accounts of his fame in "Bradbury's Travels," in *Early Western Travels*, v, pp. 85, 86; and in "Brackenridge's Journal," *Id.*, vi, p. 82. According to Lewis and Clark, he died in 1800, when a great epidemic of smallpox destroyed a large portion of the tribe. The hill on which he was buried was for many years a prominent landmark on the Missouri. The principal village was on a small creek called Omaha, about seventy miles above the city that now takes their name. See description in "Long's Expedition," *Id.*, xiv, pp. 288, 289.—Ed.

ten, on the banks of a river emptying into the Misury which is about one hundred and forty leagues long.[83] This tribe is hostile to the tribes of La Republica, the Hotos, the Alcanzos [Kansa], the Panis, the Piquies [Picts], and the tribes living on the Misisipy in the English district. The injury experienced from this tribe is the theft of some horses from the habitants of these settlements. Their occupation has always been that of the hunt, from which great profit to the trade of this post results; for every year this tribe produces five hundred or five hundred and fifty packs of deerskins.

The Haynas [Iowa]

This tribe is composed of two hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Ladron [the Robber]. They are located eighty leagues distant from this village by water by the Misisipy River on the shores of the Muen River.[84] This tribe is hostile to the tribes of the Misury River. Their occupation is that of hunting, but no benefit to [our] trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are entering that river from the English district.

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[83] For this tribe, see *ante*, p. 86, note 25. Their principal village was high up on the Osage River, probably in Vernon County, Mo The hereditary chief of this tribe was named Clermont, signifying "builder of towns." The elder Clermont having died, the chief White Hair usurped the place of his son, who later attached himself to the Arkansas band of Osage. See *Pike's Expeditions*, ii, pp. 556–558; also "Nuttall's Journal" in *Early Western Travels*, xiii, p. 247. During the Spanish regime and after, merchants of St. Louis conducted a very lucrative trade with the Osage.—Ed.

[84] For this tribe see *ante*, p. 178, note 21. No chief of this name is known, unless it be the same as Wa-cha-mon-ya (he who kills as he walks). The Iowa chiefs do not appear to have had hereditary names. The principal village of this tribe was located on the Des Moines (Muen) River, near the northwestern corner of Van Buren County, about where Iowaville now stands. They also had a large village (in 1804) near the heads of the Des Moines, whence they had removed from the Missouri.—Ed.

Sioux Tribe

We have been unable to learn the number of warriors of this tribe; for they are very numerous and are settled in distinct districts. The name of their principal chief is La Gran Mano [Big-hand]. They are located on the meadow-lands of the Misisipy in the Spanish district, about two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. Their occupation is that of hunting, but no profit results therefrom to this district, for the traders from the English district are entering by the Muen River into a district called Fuzch one hundred and fifty leagues from the Misisipy, in order to trade with them.

Tribes which Generally come from the English district to receive presents in this post.

Falco Abuene [Folles Avoines]

This tribe, according to our information thereof, is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Carron. They are located at a distance of three hundred and ten leagues from this village, and are separated by about eighty leagues from the Misisipy River by a river which takes its rise in a lake called Lake Superior, on which their chief residence is located.[85] This tribe shows itself to be

[85] Carron was a half-breed, son of a French trader of that name. He was not hereditary chief of the Menominee, but being a good orator acquired much influence, and was the leading headman. He was one of the Menominee who in 1763 refused Pontiac's solicitations, and remained faithful to the English. Several of his sons were chiefs, among the best known being Tomah, who was active in British interests during the War of 1812-15. The elder Carron died about 1780, at the village near the site of Fort Howard.

The location of the Folles Avoines was not clear to the mind of the Spanish author of this manuscript. He evidently thought that Wisconsin River rose in Lake Superior, and that the tribe resided on or near that river. Apparently he was unacquainted with the existence of Fox River.—Ed.

well inclined to this district, and we have experienced no injury from them.

The Rencor Tribe [Foxes]

This tribe is composed of three hundred or three hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Macata Uchen.[86] They are located on the shores of the Misisipy itself, at a distance of two hundred leagues from this village. This tribe has been, and is, very greatly affected to this district, and it has never been experienced, according to our information, that they have caused any harm to it, and we can, at any time, put our trust in them, under any circumstances.

The Sac Tribe

This tribe is composed of four hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Kakieguemec. They are located on the banks of the Misisipy at a distance of two hundred and thirty leagues from this village. This tribe has always shown itself well inclined to this district, and it has never been found that they have done any harm to the habitants in the frequent bands that have come to this village, or to the hunters who are wont to go by the Misisipy to hunt. On the contrary it has been experienced that they aid and protect the latter whenever it has been necessary; and they do not do that with the hunters of the English district, notwithstanding the more liberal presents generally given from there.

Tribe of the Pueans [Puans]

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Lepy. They are located one hundred and forty leagues from this village at

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[86] Possibly this was the Fox chief called by Pike in 1806, "the Raven;" the first syllables of his name correspond to the first part of the Indian name of Black Hawk. Raven's village was on the west side of the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the mouth of Wapsipinicon River, which was an ancient seat of the Foxes. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii. p. 206.—Ed.

a distance of about two leagues from the Misisipy on a small stream called La Roch [Rock River].[87] But little confidence can be placed in this tribe, for they are evil dispositioned, as has been always experienced also by the people of the other district as well as this, because of the thefts that they are wont to commit on the hunters whom they meet on the Misisipy, and other voyageurs.

The Mascuten Tribe

This tribe is composed of two hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is El Tander. They are located eighty leagues overland from this village, on a river called Aguas Bajas [Low Waters], distant from the Misisipy River by La Belle Rivière one hundred and twenty leagues, next to a village of the English, called Post Vensen [Vincennes].[88] We have never heard that this tribe has done any harm to this district. On the contrary, whenever any of them are wont to come to this village, we have experienced great affection in them and considerable quietness.

Quicapu [Kickapoo]

This tribe is composed of three hundred warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pacana.[89] They are lo-

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[87] The Winnebago (Puant), whose home when first known to the whites was in the vicinity of Green Bay, retreated to Rock River after the French expedition of 1728. The larger portion returned to their first habitat; but the Rock River band maintained a distinct position until after the Black Hawk War (1832). The Rock River Winnebago affiliated with the Americans under George Rogers Clark in 1778; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 113.—Ed.

[88] "Aguas Bajas" is apparently the old Spanish name for Wabash River. The tribe near Post Vincennes was the Piankashaw, not Mascoutin. The latter dwelt in the neighborhood of Ouiatanon.—Ed.

[89] Although the permanent villages of the Mascoutin and Kickapoo were near Fort Ouiatanon, on the Wabash, yet these tribes appear to have been much with the Piankashaw, near Vincennes, and under the influences of their great chief, Tobacco's son, who adhered to the Americans in the War of the Revolution, and was of much service

cated one-half league from the tribe of the Mascuten on the said river of Aguas Bajas. The same things are to be said of this tribe as of the above.

The Pu Tribe [*Potawatomi*]

This tribe is composed of one hundred and fifty warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Unan Guise. They are located two hundred leagues from this post, on a river called San Joseph which rises in a lake called Michipan located at a distance of sixty or seventy leagues from the Misisipy. This tribe has been well affected to the French, but they are somewhat in revolt at present, and are evilly inclined, and cause many thefts in this district.[90]

The Tribe of Otabuas [Ottawas]

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Pondiac.[91] They are located one-quarter league from the district of Detroit in Canadá, at a distance of three hundred leagues from this village. This tribe is especially well affected towards this district; and as we have heard are not very well satisfied with the English; for they are planning to come to locate in this district.

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to George Rogers Clark in his conquest of Vincennes. Pacan was a Miami and the head chief of that nation for many years. He opposed the Americans under Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, and signed the treaty of Greenville, as well as those of 1805, 1814, and 1815. He died on the Wabash soon after the last mentioned date.—Ed.

[90] The Potawatomi of St. Joseph seem to have been suspected both by the British and Spanish, probably because of the influence of Louis Chevalier, who appears to have played a double part; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 116.—Ed.

[91] Pontiac was killed at St. Louis in 1768. This reference to him in 1777, as chief of his tribe, either refers to his son, or indicates that this document was drawn up from data several years old.—Ed.

The Sotu [Saulteur] Tribe

This tribe is composed of three thousand warriors. The name of the principal chief of this tribe is Leturno. They are located three hundred and twenty-five leagues from this village, and eighty leagues from the Misisipy on a river formed by two lakes, one called Lake Huron, and the small Lake Sencler [St. Clair] which leads to the village of Detroit belonging to Canadá. This tribe being so large, and being divided into various districts, no individual notice can be given of it, except that the principal chief gives signs of great affection to this district.

The Tribe of the Peorias and Kaskakias

These two tribes compose one hundred warriors. The principal chief of these tribes is Deguen.[92] They are located in the village of Oca [Kaskaskia], twenty-two leagues from this village, and one league from the Misisipy.

This tribe has been, and is, sufficiently well inclined to this district; but they are at present almost wiped out, because they have been at war with all the tribes of their district.

San Luis de Ylinneses, November 15, 1777.

1778: WISCONSIN LEVIES AID BRITISH

[De Peyster to traders. Orders dated May 10, 1778; reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, p. lxix.]

Orders.—Every trader is ordered to embark two or three savages in his canoes in case that Messieurs Langlade and

[92] Jean Baptiste Ducoigne was a prominent chief, who was favorably inclined to the Americans, and aided Clark after the latter's capture of Kaskaskia. In 1781 he visited Virginia, and was for a time with the army under Lafayette. In 1790 St. Clair held council with him at Kaskaskia, and three years later he paid a visit to President

Gaultier have not enough canoes to bring them to this post.[93] For the King's service. Mons. Langlade will furnish provisions.

At. S. de Peyster,
Major Commandant.

Given at Fort of Michilimaquenac, May 10, 1778.

1778: CERTIFICATE TO THE MENOMINEE CHIEF

[Testimonial of Frederick Haldimand, governor of Canada,[94] to Chawanon, dated August 17, 1778. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Frederick Haldimand, *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said Province, and Frontiers, &c. &c. &c.*

Washington and Congress. He is said to have died on the Wabash about 1794. His stature was small, but his mind was active and intelligent.—Ed.

[93] Gautier had been employed during the winter of 1777–78 in visiting the Western tribes and persuading them to join in the campaign the following spring. After great exertions, he had by the seventeenth of May secured only sixty tribesmen. His arrival at Green Bay was not until June 2, when he brought in 210 recruits. On June 6, with Captain Langlade, they set out for Mackinac, whence they were finally dispatched for Montreal late in June—550 warriors in all; see Gautier's *Journal*, and De Peyster's letters, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 97–112. Whether these tribesmen spent the summer in Canada, where an invasion from the United States was anticipated, or whether they participated in the raids on the American frontier with the Mohawk and other Iroquois, does not appear. The next document shows that the Menominee were in Montreal in August.—Ed.

[94] For a biographical note on Haldimand see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 115. He superseded Carleton as governor of Canada, in June, 1778.—Ed.

To Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines[95]

In consideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, testified by Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, I do hereby confirm the said Chawanon Grand Chief of the Folles Avoines aforesaid having bestowed upon him the Great Medal, willing all and singular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as Grand Chief, and all Officers and others in his Majesty's Service to treat him accordingly, GIVEN under my hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this Seventeenth Day of August One thousand seven hundred and seventy Eight in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so Forth

FRED: HALDIMAND

By his Excellency's command.

E. FOY[96]

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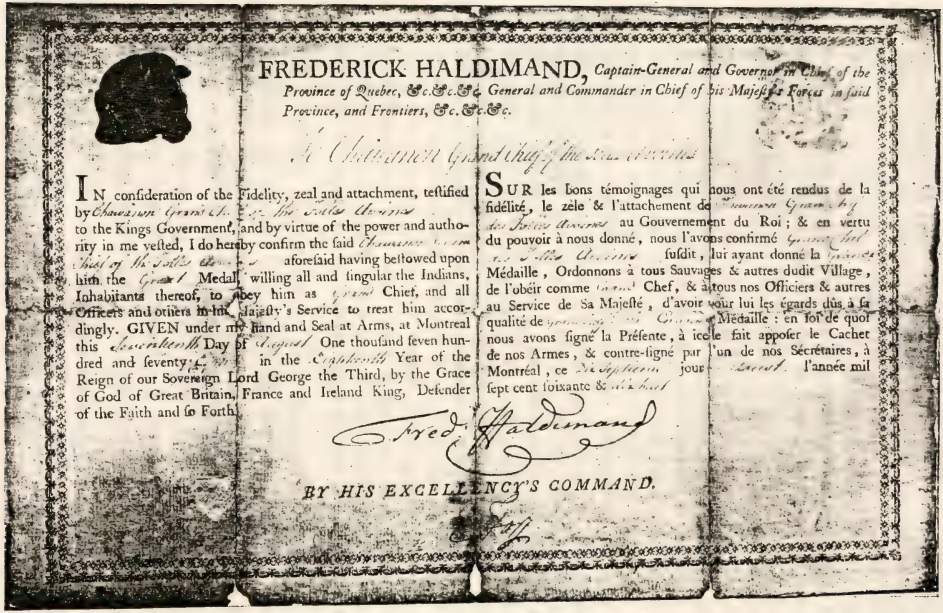
[95] This was the chief known to the Creoles of Green Bay as Old King. His village was on the west side of Fox River, just above the site of Fort Howard. His Indian name was Chakachokama, and the name given in this certificate is the French form of Shawnee. Probably his mother was of that tribe or the name was given in compliment, at some alliance. This chief was doubtless of the family of Ogeemaunee, to whom a certificate was given in 1764; see *ante*. He was grandfather of Oshkosh, and lived until 1821, when he died while on a visit to Prairie du Chien. In his later years he was an imbecile, and his authority was wielded by others, notably members of the Carron family; he was, however, always treated with great respect by his tribe. This certificate was deposited in the Wisconsin Historical Library by the late Louis B. Porlier.—ED.

[96] For a brief note on Capt. Edward Foy see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 48. He was at this time acting as secretary for Haldimand, but died early in 1779.—ED.



FREDERICK HALDIMAND, *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in said Province, and Frontiers, &c. &c. &c.*

To Chawanon Grand Chief of the Sioux Village

IN consideration of the Fidelity, zeal and attachment, testified by *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Sioux Village* to the Kings Government, and by virtue of the power and authority in me vested, I do hereby confirm the said *Chawanon Grand Chief of the Sioux Village* aforesaid having bestowed upon him the *Great* Medal, willing all and singular the Indians, Inhabitants thereof, to obey him as *Grand* Chief, and all Officers and others in his Majesty's Service to treat him accordingly. GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Montreal this *Seventeenth* Day of *August* One thousand seven hundred and seventy-*eight* in the *Eighteenth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so Forth.

SUR les bons témoignages qui nous ont été rendus de la fidélité, le zèle & l'attachement de *Chawanon Grand Chef des Sioux Village* au Gouvernement du Roi ; & en vertu du pouvoir à nous donné, nous l'avons confirmé *Grand Chef des Sioux Village* susdit, lui ayant donné la *Grande* Médaille, Ordonnons à tous Sauvages & autres dudit Village, de l'obéir comme *Grand* Chef, & à tous nos Officiers & autres au Service de Sa Majesté, d'avoir pour lui les égards dûs à sa qualité de *Grand Chef* Médaille : en foi de quoi nous avons signé la Présente, à icelle fait apposer le Cachet de nos Armes, & contre-signé par l'un de nos Sécrétaires, à Montréal, ce *Dix-septième* jour *d'Août* l'année mil sept cent soixante & *dix-huit*

Fred. Haldimand

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S COMMAND.

HALDIMAND'S CERTIFICATE TO CHAWANON

Dated, Montreal, August 17, 1778. Reduced facsimile of original

1778: LANGLADE TO REINFORCE HAMILTON

[Letter from De Peyster to Langlade and Gautier, dated Oct. 26, 1778. Reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, p. lxx.]

MESSIEURS—In accordance with the power that has been given me by his Excellency General Haldimand, Commandant in Chief of the Armies of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, in Canada, etc. etc. etc. to do all in my power to assist Lieut. Gov. Hamilton[97] in all his enterprises against the Rebels, and as I have learned by letter from the Lieut. Governor that he has gone to dislodge the Rebels of the Illinois[98] and

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[97] Henry Hamilton was of Irish descent, of the family of the Marquis of Boyne. He early entered the army (1754), and was commissioned lieutenant of the 15th in 1756. He served with Amherst at Louisburg, was with Wolfe at Quebec, and later (1761–63) was in the West Indies. His regiment was in England, 1768–76, but in the summer of 1775 Hamilton was in Quebec, being there appointed lieutenant-governor of Detroit. He arrived at the latter place Nov. 9 of that year, and was much occupied in counteracting American influence among the neighboring Indians; see Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*. In the autumn of 1778, he advanced against Vincennes and retook the fort from the Americans, only to be captured with all his garrison by Col. George Rogers Clark (February, 1779). Hamilton was sent a prisoner to Virginia, and there kept in close confinement until his exchange in 1780. He then visited England, returning to Canada as lieutenant-governor, 1782–85. In 1790 he was governor of the Bermudas, and four years later of Dominica. During the latter incumbency he died (1796) and was buried on the island.—ED.

[98] Since Langlade's departure for Canada in June, 1778, matters had taken an unexpected turn in the Western country. Col. George Rogers Clark, commissioned by Virginia, had marched from the Falls of Ohio and surprised Kaskaskia (July 4), capturing the commandant and securing the allegiance of the French habitants. In August he held a great council with the northern Indians, and secured many for his allegiance—see certificates to Winnebago and Fox chiefs in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 133, 177. Pierre Gibault, the Kaskaskia priest, had meanwhile visited Vincennes in the interests of the Americans. He there secured the coöperation of its inhabitants, who took oaths of allegiance; also the alliance of the neighboring Piankashaw Indians.

asks me to give him assistance—you are ordered by these presents to depart and try to arouse the nations. Monsieur Langlade from the Grand River as far as St. Josephe, where are the Court Oreilles and the Ganteaux [Sauteur], causing them to assemble without loss of time at St. Josephe.[99]

Monsieur Gautier will go direct to St. Josephe there addressing himself to Mons. Louison Chevalier[1] in order to require him to assist Monsieur Ainse in assembling the Poutouatamies, while Gautier does his best to obtain Intelligence of the situation of Monsieur Hamilton, making his report thereof to Monsieur Langlade. They will do their best to join him by the shortest route, or descend the Illinois River if it is possible and better calculated to second the operations of Monsieur Hamilton.

As one cannot arrange for operations in case Monsieur Ham-

Capt. Leonard Helm was established in charge of this post. When the news reached Detroit, Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton determined to go in person to retrieve this disaster, and retake Vincennes; see his correspondence in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, i, pp. 330–409.—Ed.

[99] The Chippewa (Sauteur), and some of the Ottawa from the neighborhood of Mackinac, had long wintered on Grand River, Michigan. Langlade had a trading establishment among them as early as 1755; see *ante*, p. 130. The term "Court Oreilles" (short-ears) meant simply natural ears that had not been extended by artificial means. A band of Wisconsin Chippewa is so named at present, whence Lac Court Oreilles. The band here mentioned were Ottawa, as is proven by De Peyster's letter in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 121.—Ed.

[1] For the Chevalier family see *ante*, p. 136, note 80. Louis, commonly known as Louison, was born in 1720 and sometime before the close of the French regime settled at St. Josephs. Here he was engaged in trade and agriculture, and had a large establishment, being the principal personage of the settlement. In 1763 he saved the lives of some of the English garrison, and no fort being re-established at this place he became a quasi-commandant, executing the orders of the British officers at Detroit and Mackinac. He was trusted by De Peyster, but suspected of correspondence with Americans by the latter's successor Sinclair, who had him arrested and sent to Montreal. There he was retained until 1782, after which nothing more is known concerning him. See *post*.—Ed.

ilton has given up [his expedition] and returned to Detroit, in such an event if you do not consider yourselves strong enough to make a stroke on the Caskakias, or at the Cahokias, you will send back the savages to their Wintering-grounds and you will regain your different posts by the shortest possible route.

Monsieur Langlade will go to La Bay, and Monsieur Gautier to the Mississippi, and there try to keep the nations well disposed for the service until the arrival of new orders.

In this enterprise I recommend to you to exhort the Warriors to use Humanity toward the prisoners, and others who are found without arms since there are English traders retained by force among * * *

The prisoners will be ransomed. As the nations have already had in General many presents from his Majesty, you are recommended to incur as little expense as the nature of the service will permit in giving them nothing that is not absolutely necessary.

At. S. de Peyster,

Major of the Regt. of the King and Comman't at the said post and dependencies.

Given at Fort Michilimaquenac, this 26 October, 1778.

To Monsr. Captain Langlade and Lieut. Gautier.

1779: CLARK'S OPERATIONS; INDIAN COUNCIL AT MACKINAC

[Letter from Col. Joseph Bowman to Col. George Rogers Clark, dated Cahokia, June 3, 1779. Original in Draper MSS., 49J49, in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Kahous June 3d 1779

Dear Sir—By the bearer M^r. [blank in MS.] I have Just received the following Intiligence from Micha^l. M^canoy [Michilimackinac] who [the above] Informes me that he left that [place] 8^h of April Last with permition to go as far as Labai [La Baye] with orders to Longloid [Langlade] & Gouchey [Gautier] from Maj^r. Depoister [De Peyster] forbiding them from Raising ancy more Indians against the americans that Maj^r

Depoister has but forty men and 100 at Detroit by Report, the Indians Informes them of our armey beeing near Detroit that in two days they Can fetch in a scalp from our People, he on his way here receiv$^{d.}$ the kindest treatment from the Indians who seam Intirely dispos$^{d.}$ in our favor he has brought with him a large Quantity of goods that was Concealed to him by Mr Bentley who was to start in ten days after him in cace he could obtain A permitt otherways he wood make his Escape the best way he could I begin to be Impatiant to start and am In hopes by Next monday to make a move with Every thing from here with hoops of finding you all in Readiness for a start which I make not the least doubt of; if in cace your purchacers has been as buisly Imploy$^{d.}$ as we where, I Expect Mr Shannon back Every hour, The weather begins to grow warm & the waters Low so that no time Ought to be lost with regaurd to prepareing Every Necessary requird for our Expedetion, pray make Every officer Exert himself as I have been oblig$^{d.}$ to do, as much depends on Industery, their is maney Thanks to be paid to the Inhabitants here, as they have Spaird their Cattle & Horses past Expectation they have furnish$^{d.}$ Every fifth head of Cattle in stead of the tenth, which amounts to 80 odd 40 odd Horses [line at bottom of MS. missing] The reason of not getting more Flower from this Place is owing to the scarceity, as their has been sold out of this town since your Departure from here between twenty and thirty Thousand weight I am afraid that Unless you send up a boat for the flower I shall be disappointed I have had the offer of severl Bark boats but none of them in order, or strong Enough to trust a Load in,

My respects to the Gentlemen officers whilst I Remain D^{r} S^{r} your most Obd^{t} frind & Hum^{le} Se^{r}

Jo^{s} Bowman

N B in my letter in stead of orders forbiding the Indians to be rais$^{d.}$ against the Americans they are cauld for to Micha$^{l.}$ M^{c}anoy to a counsel

Addressed: Colo. George Rogers Clark Commandr. in chief of westrn Deprt Kaskaskias pr M^{r} pravoe [Prevost]

Endorsed: Received 5th June 79 Captn. Bowman 3d June 1779

1779: EXPEDITION AGAINST ILLINOIS

[Instructions from De Peyster to Langlade, dated July 1, 1779. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Instructions for Mr Langlade

SIR—You are required, for the good of His Majesty's service, to start from Here and do your best to levy the people of la fourche,[2] Milwaukee,[3] the puants and others along the shore of lake Michigan and with them hasten to join Mr. Bennett[4] at Chicagou; and, if Mr. Bennett has passed on, to follow him by rapid marches so as to catch up to him before he arrives at the

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[2] La Fourche was l'Arbre Croche village, where the Ottawa band of the chief La Fourche was situated. For the site of this Indian town see *ante*, p. 253, note 47. The chief La Fourche was Langlade's uncle; he was an important chieftain as early as 1742. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 372, and De Peyster's chronicle, *post*.—ED.

[3] The early history of Milwaukee is yet to be written. The first mention of the name seems to be that of Father Zenobie Membre, who speaks (1680) of a Mascoutin and Fox village on this site. The village here seems always to have been of a mixed character, but in later times was chiefly Potawatomi. Refugee Foxes and Sauks were here in 1741; and French traders were then among them. English traders found their way thither by 1764; thereafter there was almost continuous occupation until the coming of Americans. During the period of the Revolution, the Milwaukee village was in alliance with the American officials of the Illinois, and aided in raids of 1779–81.—ED.

[4] Lieut. Thomas Bennett was second in command at Mackinac, under De Peyster. His commission in the 8th regiment dated from 1770, and in 1778 he was made adjutant. Promoted to a captaincy in 1783, he retired from the regiment in 1791. The year previous to the date of this document, Bennett had been detailed to take a force to Grand Portage, on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, to protect the British merchants there, and incidentally to secure their loyalty, which was in some cases considered doubtful. For his own report of this expedition to the Illinois, which Langlade was ordered to support, see *post*, pp. 398–401.

Peé,[5] and work with him for the good of the service in Accordance with the orders he has received from me.[6]

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

Given at FORT MICHILIMAKINAC, the 1st of July, 1779.

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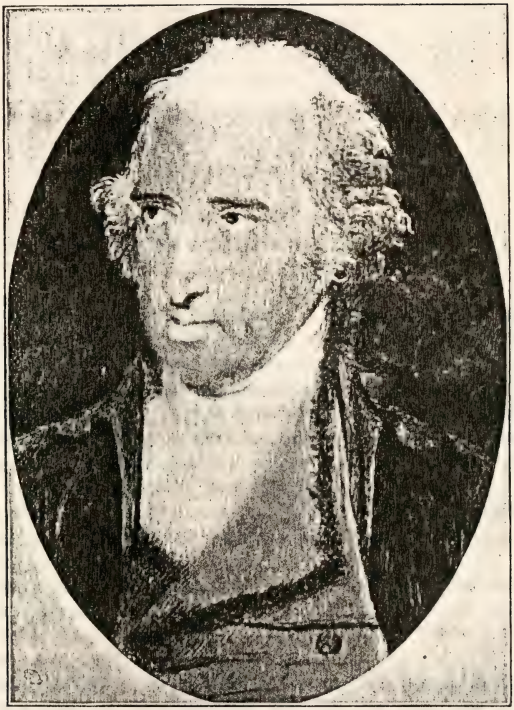
[5] An abbreviation for Peoria, for which see *ante*, p. 177, note 18. De Peyster speaks in later letters of a fort at this place, but it appears to have been merely a trading centre.—ED.

[6] This expedition, raised by De Peyster under the command of Langlade and Bennett, was sent out to oppose Clark's projected expedition against Detroit. The latter was to rendezvous at Vincennes, and move up the Wabash; but Col. John Bowman's promised reinforcements from Kentucky being diverted into an enterprise against the Shawnee Indians, and insufficient troops having arrived from Virginia, Clark reluctantly decided that it would be prudent to abandon his project. Meanwhile Godefroy de Linctot had enrolled forty mounted volunteers at Cahokia, to ascend the Illinois to Peoria, cross thence to Ouiatanon, and join Clark in his advance. Linctot successfully accomplished his mission, and by August was at the latter place, with a large concourse of Indians (said to have been 6,000). He sent a messenger to Vincennes for reinforcements, with which he hoped to take St. Josephs. Major Busseron and Capt. James Shelby were detached to his assistance, and reached Ouiatanon by August 24. A party of English, doubtless that of Bennett and Langlade, coming against them, were turned back by Indians, and the garrison at St. Josephs was obliged to abandon that fort, because of native hostility. No presents being forthcoming for the Indian allies, however, they began to fall off, and by October Shelby was again in Vincennes, and the expedition was unproductive of results. This account is derived from the original papers of Clark in the Wisconsin Historical Library—Draper MSS., 49J; see also *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 455, 467.—ED.



HENRY HAMILTON

Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit. After a portrait in possession of Clarence M. Burton, of Detroit

1779: SPEECH TO THE WESTERN INDIANS

[Rhymed chronicle of De Peyster's speech at l'Arbre Croche, July 4, 1779.[7] Reprinted from De Peyster, *Miscellanies*, pp. 5–15.]

Great Chiefs, convened at my desire
To kindle up this council fire;
Which, with ascending smoke,[8] shall burn
Till you from war[9] once more return,
To lay the axe in earth so deep,
That nothing shall disturb its sleep.[10]

Propitious see bright *Kesis*[11] shine
On every warlike son[12] of mine!
The Lake[13] is smooth, the roads are even,

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[7] In connection with this expedition of Langlade, detailed in the previous note, De Peyster went in person as far as l'Arbre Croche (see *ante*, p. 375, note 2) to arouse the Indians convened at that place. The speech which he made upon that occasion, he afterwards amused himself by forming into a rhymed chronicle, full of Indian words and technical allusions, most of which he himself explained in accompanying footnotes. The document is a curious medley of terms, but repays study, both for its historical and ethnological value.—Ed.

[8] When the war calumet (or pipe) is lit and handed round for everyone to take a whif, in case the smoke rises erect, it is a good omen—and so *vice versa*.—A. S. de P.

[9] From Fort Charters, under the care of British officers, to assist Governor Hamilton, but before they could join him, he had surrendered by convention to the American General, Clark, near the Islenois.—A. S. de P.

Comment by Ed. It is needless to say that this expedition did not succeed in reaching Fort Chartres; but it is less clear how De Peyster should have been mistaken in the purpose thereof. Hamilton was captured at Vincennes, Feb. 25, 1779, and the news reached De Peyster at Mackinac by April 24; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 432. The object of the expedition of the summer of 1779 is outlined *ante*, note 6.

[10] In time of peace the tomahawk is supposed to sleep in the earth. —A. S. de P.

[11] The Sun.—A. S. de P.

[12] The commandant is called father by every friendly tribe.—A. S. de P.

[13] Lake Mitchigan.—A. S. de P.

What more is wanting under heaven.
To show each tribe, (*Fox, Wolf* and *Bear,*)
The *Monitou*[14] makes all his care.

While thus they smoke t' appear more wise,
And call for *milk*[15] to clear their eyes.
Y'Escabias,[16] your chiefs disarm,
Lest they should do each other harm;
Lay by their hatchets, knives and spears,
And clear the dust out of their ears,[17]
That they may hear what I've to say;
Then close them up again with clay,
Or, drive all *bad birds*[18] far away,

I know you have been told by Clark,[19]
His riflemen ne'er miss the mark;
In vain you hide behind a tree,
If they your finger's tip can see,—
The instant they have got their aim
Enrolls you on the list of lame.
But, then, my sons, this boaster's rifles,
To those I have in store, are trifles;
If you but make the tree your mark,
The ball will twirl beneath the bark,
'Till it one-half the circle find,
Then out and kill the man behind.[20]

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[14] The Great Spirit.—A. S. DE P.

[15] New England rum, which they call mother's milk, and drink it to excess, when it is dangerous to leave them armed.—A. S. DE P.

[16] The aid-de-camps, who disarm their chiefs.—A. S. DE P.

[17] When Indians will not listen to your talk, they say that their ears are either filled with dust or clay.—A. S. DE P.

[18] The enemy's emissaries are so called.—A. S. DE P.

[19] For a brief biographical sketch of George Rogers Clark, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 113, 114.—ED.

[20] The Indians being a very credulous people, it becomes necessary to give the enemy a Rolland for their Oliver.—A. S. DE P.

Clark says, with *Louis* in alliance,
He sets your father at defiance.
That he, too, hopes, ere long, to gain
Assistance from the King of Spain,
When he will come unto this place,
And put your *Nossa*[21] to disgrace—
Like Matchiquis, at foot-ball sport,[22]
With arms concealed, surprised his fort;
Compel him, sword in hand, to fall,
Or ship him off for Montreal;
When at the straits,[23] sly *Maskeash*
Will shoot each flying *Sagenash*.[24]
Suppose awhile his threats prove true,
My children! What becomes of you?
Your sons,—your daughters,—and your wives—
Must they be hacked with these big knives?[25]
Sure you have heard the aged tell,
How Ferdinand and Isabelle
Their empty coffers filled with gold?—
The story makes my blood run cold—
Their war-chiefs hunted down with hounds,
And covered o'er with ghastly wounds
All such as did not dare oppose
The first invasion of their foes?—
Then, will you like the Mexicans,

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[21] Indian name for Father, when speaking of the commandant in council.—A. S. DE P.

[22] Under pretence of playing, he kicked the ball over the fort picquets, rushed in with his band, and accomplished his purpose.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. A reference to the fall of Fort Michillimackinac in 1763. For this chieftain, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 188–194.

[23] The Straits leading from Lake Sinclair (St Clair) to Lake Huron —A. S. DE P.

[24] Indian name for an Englishman.—A. S. DE P.

[25] A name for their American enemies, particularly the Virginians.—A. S. DE P.

Await the *Kitchimokomans*;[26]
Or show yourselves more brave and wise,
Ere they are joined by such allies?
Clark, soon repulsed, will ne'er return,
While your war-fire thus clear doth burn.[27]
Exert yourselves, therefore, while you
Are favored by the *Manitou*,
Else smoke will cease to greet the skies,
Sad omens yield such sacrifice!—
In vain shall medicine kettles boil,[28]
They'll not repay the juggler's toil;
Each path would soon be covered o'er
With briars, stones, and human gore,
While troubled waters lash the shore.
Observe the wretched Kickapoose;[29]
What have they gained by Lenetot's news?[30]
The *Ottogams, Pioreas* and *Sacks*,[31]
Have scarce a blanket to their backs.
Old *Carminees' Weenippegoes*,[32]
Want fuzees, powder, ball and clothes,
And skulk in dens, lest old Langlade[33]

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26 The Indian name for big knives.—A. S. DE P.

27 The war-fire burning clear is one of the good omens.—A. S. DE P

28 The jugglers boil up ingredients as a sacrifice, before the war party sets out, in hopes of a good omen.—A. S. DE P.

29 A nation inhabiting the Wabash country.—A. S. DE P.

30 A runagate Frenchman, who used to communicate every favourable event attending the enemy.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. For this officer see *ante*, p. 376, note 6.

31 Three nations inhabiting the ground betwixt La Baye and the Mississippi. The Sacks are by some pronounced Saukies.—A. S. DE P.

32 A sensible old chief, at the head of a refractory tribe.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. A prominent Winnebago chief whose name is properly spelled Karrymaunee. There was a long line of chiefs by this name, one of whom in 1832 had a village near Baraboo.

33 A French officer, who had been instrumental in defeating General Braddock, gained over to the British cause by Colonel D. P., which secured all the Western Indians in our interest.—A. S. DE P.

Should give their heads the batonade;
These suck their paws, like Northern bears,
Exposing nothing but their ears,
To hear if *Gautier de Verville*[34]
Doth crave assistance from *Lafeuille*
Or, if the *Chippewas* of the plains,
Draw near to *Wabashaa's*[35] domains,
While none on earth live more at ease,
Than *Carong's*[36] brave *Menomenies.*

Let *Nonocassee* styled the *Beau,*[37]
Still fear to meet the threatening foe;
With Petouiwiskam[38] and his squa,
Shove off his boat for Saguina.
To lay neglet lines and set salt snares,[39]
For cat-fish,[40] trout, and timorous hares:
To dry wild meat and *hull* their corn,
Which you will eat when you return.

Such men are fit for warriors' slaves,
Whose sons shall p — — s upon their graves.
'Till not one painted stake appear[41]

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[34] Langlade's companion—they were both appointed captains.—A. S. DE P.

[35] The great *Scioux* chief.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. His French title was La Feuille; for a brief sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 323.

[36] A very clever fellow, chief of the nation of Minominees, the handsomest man among the Indians.—A. S. DE P.

[37] A perfect Thersites, and a great fop.—A. S. DE P.

[38] The fop's father, an old fellow in league with the French and Virginians.—A. S. DE P.

[39] A thread, dipped in brine, is laid from the trap across their tracks, which they are so fond of licking, that it conducts them to their fate.—A. S. DE P.

[40] Cat-fish weigh from 10 to 90, and trout from 10 to 60 lbs.—A. S. DE P.

[41] In the manner of a head-stone.—A. S. DE P.

To tell whose bones lay rotting there.
While o'er each war chief's sacred grave,
The British union flag shall wave;
And, on its staff, a row of nicks,
Or more descriptive hieroglyphics,
Denote the feats performed by those
Who did not fear to meet their foes.[42]

The French, my sons, are not your friends,
They only mean to serve their ends!
In this alliance lately made
Their aim is our tobacco trade.
I heard *Gebau*[43] say, 'tis no sin
To sell each pound, one otter-skin:
This priest cares not how dear he sells,
To those he styles poor infidels;
Who can't afford to light a pipe,
Until the *Sackagoming's* ripe;
Sumack, red wood, and such stuff,
Too mild, unmixed, to smoke or snuff.[44]

The French, I say, by this convention,
To all this country waive pretension!
See, here, I hold it in my hand,
While *Clark* would have you understand
He only seeks to mount this bench—
To counsel for his friends—the French;

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[42] Nicks or notches denote the number of times they have been to war, and they often carve hieroglyphical characters thereon.—A. S. DE P.

[43] A profligate trading missionary, who had resided long amongst the Western Indians, and made few converts.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. For a brief sketch of Father Pierre Gibault see *ante*, p. 292, note 14.

[44] The bark of the tree of that name, which, with sumac and red wood the Indians scrape fine and mix with tobacco, or some times smoke without mixing.—A. S. DE P.

Who're still in hopes, ere long, to check
The British arms,—to storm Quebec,
And seize the key of that great door,
Through which all merchandise must pour;
For, while Britannia rules the main,
No goods can come from France or Spain;
"Be sure this part you well explain."[45]
Shall France, then, send to spoil your lands,
And councils hold with empty hands?
No! Interest bids you all oppose
Those empty-handed *Parlevous.*

To Detroit, Linctot bends his way;
I therefore turn you from the *Pey*[46]
To intercept the chevalier.[47]
At Fort St. Joseph's[48] and *O Post,*[49]
Go,—lay in ambush, for his host,
While I send round Lake Mitchigan,
To raise the warriors—to a man;—
Who, on their way to get to you,
Shall take a peep at—at *Eschickagou,*[50]
Eghittawas[51] smiles at the notion
Of *Kissegouit,* brave *Neotochin,*
Swift Neogad, fierce Scherroschong,
And Glode, the son of Vieux Carong,[52]

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[45] Spoken to Mr. Ainse, the Indian interpreter.—A. S. DE P.

[46] A small fort on the Islenois River.—A. S. DE P.

[47] A nickname.—A. S. DE P.

[48] At the head of the river of that name, where the Pottawatamies have a fort and large settlement.—A. S. DE P.

[49] Post St. Vincent (Vincennes), so called.—A. S. DE P.

[50] A river and fort at the head of Lake Mitchigan.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. There was no fort at Chicago at this period, although a trading house existed on the site.

[51] A staunch friend to the British cause, gained over by the commandant of Michilimackinac.—A. S. DE P.

[52] These chiefs were Ottawa and Menominee, in alliance with the British. For Neogad, an Ottawa, see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 356. For

Those runagates at Milwakie,[53]
Must now *per* force with you agree,
Must with Langlade their forces join;
Sly Siggenaak and Naakewoin,
Or, he will send them *tout au diable*,
As he did Baptist *Point de Saible*.[54]

And now the convert *Miamies*,
Must join the *Pottawatamies*;—
Who're all true Catholics in religion,
Yet, as Mohamet let his pigeon,
Let those who call our bad birds here,
Whisper rebellion in their ear.

Glode, eldest son of Carron (see *ante*, p. 364, note 85), see "Grignon's Recollections" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii. He was born about 1739, served as a youth in the battles at Quebec (1759); succeeded his father as chief in 1780; and died in northwest Wisconsin in 1803.—Ed.

[53] A horrid set of refractory Indians.—A. S. de P.

Comment by Ed. The Potawatomi settlement at Milwaukee appears to have originated from a migration from St. Josephs in about 1769. The principal chief was Siggenauk (or Blackbird), termed Letourneau by the French. He visited Clark at Kaskaskia soon after its capture, and entered into alliance with the Americans, hence this disparagement by De Peyster. Siggenauk took part in the Spanish expedition of 1781, and thereafter appears to have been hostile to the Americans, participating in the several Indian wars and signing Wayne's treaty (1795). Before the War of 1812–15 he resided in the Peoria region, and was the chief actor in the Chicago massacre of 1812. He died probably about 1815. De Peyster attempted to secure his person in the autumn of this year (1779), but the plan failed; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 210.

[54] A handsome negro, well educated (and settled at Eschecagou), but much in the French interest.—A. S. de P.

Comment by Ed. Jean Baptiste Point de Sable was a free mulatto, said to be from San Domingo. He had settled at Chicago as a trader some time before this date. Langlade seems to have arrested him in the spring of 1779, on charge of acting with the Americans. Later, he was again at Chicago, and remained until about the close of the eighteenth century, when he sold out his improvements and removed to the neighborhood of Peoria. He did not die until after 1809.

No wonder, then, their list'ner's stray'd
From what they should have done or said!
Thus *Pettagouschac*[55] said he'd take
The French King's part, for conscience sake;
And that,—because the priest Gebau
Cajoled him with a petted crow.

Pray, did not *Brieant*[56] Quebec's Bishop,
Absolving those who threw their fish up,
Make reverend priests stands centinel,
And for *Amen!* cry, *All is well!*
Eat pork in Lent, 'gainst popish laws,
To serve your English father's cause.
Should he then care if fish or meat,
St. Joseph's tawny sons do eat;
Or if the Twiggtwees chant the mass,
Brieant would prove himself an ass.
You say, the fiery Mascoutans[57]
Won't strike the *Kitchiemokomans!*[58]
No Mascoutin drinks from my barrel,
'Till he espouse his father's quarrel;
Nor shall he have an *assoyan*,[59]
Though he's exposed a naked man.

Say, have you wanted *milk*[60] to drink,
Since your old friends, the Nippisink,[61]

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[55] The great chief of the Pottawatamies, who had a Romish chapel built in his village.—A. S. DE P.

[56] The Bishop of Quebec espoused the British cause most heartily, when Quebec was besieged in 1763 [1775].—A. S. DE P.

[57] Mascoutin signifies fire—they were, by the French, called *Gens de feu*.—A. S. DE P.

[58] The Virginians.—A. S. DE P.

[59] The Indians wear no breeches, but what might properly be called small-clothes—a small strip of blue cloth fixed to a belt, to answer the purpose of a fig bag.—A. S. DE P.

[60] New England rum, called mother's milk.—A. S. DE P.

[61] Indians inhabiting the borders of the Lake Nippisink.—A. S. DE P.

With belts and strings,[62] for aid did call,
To drive the foe from Montreal?[63]
When at the Lake of the Two Mountains;
You thought it was supplied by fountains;
Wherewith you got that night so *squiby* [drunk],
That you were forced next day to lie by;
While Franklin, Worster and their friends,
Wrought hard that day to gain their ends;
Which done, they escaped o'er Lake Champlain,[64]
While, sheltered from the wind and rain
Canoes turned up and baggage under,[65]
You lay retrenched with British plunder.[66]

Nay, call to mind the preparations
You made me make with your orations;
Resolving, ere you went, that I
Would to each village have an eye;
And that by no means I'd retrench
What was allowed you by the French.
(When you went down, on like occasion,

---

[62] Accompanied with letters from M. Matavit and other priests, the Bishop's friends,—the belts and strings are what the Indians hold talks upon; a kind of bead turned out of the heart and other hard parts of the clam shell.—The white are for peace; the blue, when wrought with a figure of the tomahawk thereon, signify war.—A. S. DE P.

[63] Doctor Franklin and General Worster.—A. S. DE P.

[64] Referring to the American campaign in Canada, in the spring of 1776. Benjamin Franklin headed the commission from Congress, and arrived at Montreal April 30, remaining but ten days. Gen. David Wooster of Connecticut was appointed (April 1, 1776) commander-in-chief in Canada, and conducted the retreat of the American army. Relieved from command he was killed in a skirmish in Connecticut in 1777.—ED.

[65] The Indians never travel in rainy weather, but turn their canoes up, and shelter themselves and their baggage under.—A. S. DE P.

[66] Here the whole council rose hastily, and seemed to menace the Colonel, but soon sat down again.—A. S. DE P.

To aid *Vaudreul* 'gainst *Wolfe's* invasion,[67]
Which with your tour to save Carillion [Crown Point],
And Fort Du Quesne, cost France a million.

I still preserve your memorandum,
'Twould strike Sir Guy or Haldimand[68] dumb;
Which, for good reasons, I think meet,
In this grand council to repeat!
Smoked red-deer skins, for warriors' shoes,—
Item—large birch-bark, north canoes,[69]
Masts, halliards, sails, flags, oars and paddles,
Broaches, medals, bridles, saddles,
Large rolls of bark, awls, watap,[70] gum,
Lines, spunges, pipes, tobacco, rum,
Guns, powder, shot, fire-steel and flint,
Salt pork and biscuit, without stint;
Rich arm bands, gorgets and nose bobs,
Made of French Crowns and Spanish cobs;
Lac'd coats, chintz shirts, plum'd hats for chiefs,
And for your beaux, silk handkerchiefs;[71]

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67 They were then in the French interest, and commanded by Monsieur de Langlade, as they are now in the English interest, commanded by de Langlade and Gautier, since Col. D. P. had gained them over.—A. S. DE P.

68 Commanders-in-chief who had passed the Colonel's accounts, and thanked him for having been greatly the means of saving Canada.—A. S. DE P.

69 North canoes are of better workmanship, and made very large, in order to carry a great quantity of goods beyond the Lake Superior.—A. S. DE P.

70 Pine roots, for sewing bark canoes.—A. S. DE P.

71 Some of the young chiefs will wear a dozen silver gorgets, one below the other. The laced coat is made very large, of the best scarlet cloth, richly laced, which they put over a flowered chintz shirt, open at the neck and wrists and round their waists, having no breeches on. Their hats are plumed around the rim; and the silk kerchiefs, hanging half out of the pocket, never used.—All this costly dress is on days of ceremony only, and easily thrown off.—A. S. DE P.

Paint,[72] mirrors, blankets, moultins, strouds,
To clothe the living and make shrouds
For those who might in battle fall,
Or die by rum, at Montreal.
You made me likewise, close the graves
Of war-chiefs, slain with Panis slaves;[73]
Clothe each child, old men and women,
Give nets, hooks, lines, grease and mandamin;[74]
Knives, scizzars, combs, hoes, hatchets, spears,
And kegs of *milk* to dry their tears,
At thy request, great Nissowaquet,[75]
I gave your young men *sissobaquet,*
Which on their journey they did brew,[76]
Into refreshing *eau-battu*;
(Which kept thy sons too, Kitchienago,[77]
From fluxes and the *ouzebenago* [ague],
Which all are subject to, who drink
The water of Lake Nippisink.)
This gave them strength to work their way
To where Burgoine's lost army lay.
I saw each separate chief's provisions
Divided to prevent divisions
'Twixt the Ottawa and Chipp'wa nations,
Long used to filch each other's rations;—
And now agree to the same thing,

---

72 The expenditure for vermillion is enormous.—A. S. DE P.

73 Prisoners taken by the Ottawas and Chippewas, from the Panis nation, bordering the Mississippi.—A. S. DE P.

74 Maise or Indian corn, which they plant by hoeing hills on the ground, wherein they plant five grains each.—A. S. DE P.

75 The Ottawa chief—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed. Nissowaquet, called La Fourche by the French, was the appellation of a line of Ottawa chieftains, one of whom was Langlade's uncle. This latter was a prominent chief in 1742. The name is mentioned in documents of 1797 and 1835.

76 Maple sugar, which they beat up in water, and call it brewing.—A. S. DE P.

77 The Chippewa chief of the Island Michilimackinack.—A. S. DE P.

If you, my sons, will serve the King;
And take in hand the *bogomagen,*[78]
The work of Old Cawishagen,
(Great uncle to bold Matchiquis,[79]
Who never more will do amiss),
Curiously wrought with heads of beasts,
True emblems of the warrior's feast.

See Jinquis-Tawanong *strike the post,*[80]
Too old to fight, but not to boast
"When I was young, and I could see,
"I trailed this up the Miamie,
"The Wabash and the Missourie.
"From these lank loins have sprung two boys,
"Shall trail it through the Islenois,
"And make it rattle o'er the stones
"Where uninterred lay *Pondiac's*[81] bones.
"Whiles I at home the village guard,
"And *scuttawaba's*[82] my reward."[83]

Sage Quiouygoushkam[84] leads the band,
With Massisanguoin, hand in hand;
Deaf Schawanissie[85] close the rear,
Whose name the rebels love and fear;

---

[78] The war club.—A. S. DE P.

[79] The same that surprised the fort in 1763.—A. S. DE P.

[80] Jinquis Tawanong was the old Ottawa speaker. To strike the post, is to make a stroke against anything with the club, before he relates his feats, and those of his ancestors, which are handed down from generation to generation.—A. S. DE P.

[81] The great chief killed at Fort Charters, and dragged over the rocks upon the strand, tied to a horse's tail.—A. S. DE P.

[82] Rum, here called hot water.—A. S. DE P.

Comment by Ed.—"Fire-water" is a better rendition of the word.

[83] A general shout.—A. S. DE P.

[84] The most subtile of all the chiefs.—A. S. DE P.

[85] An excellent man, who carried an American officer upon his back for many miles, after he had wounded him, and delivered him safe into the British hospital.—A. S. DE P.

King Nissowaque wills it so,
Approved by stern Kenoctigo,
Fleet Yabe, and strong Windigo.

The smooth-tongued Benessw'abeme,
The smiling young Apeshabe,
Schenowishkawa, whose lodge gives grace,[86]
Amiable, with a lovely face,—
Half Indian, half Canadian race.
Tawakoney and Mitchekain,
Whose sires by Yankey rum were slain;
Neogema, Igomenon,
The bearded[87] Tecamessimon,
All Arbercrosh and Kishkacon;[88]
Ogocee, Oga and Jinguaak,
Shall trail the Chippawa tomahawk.[89]
These Kitchinægo recommends
To be your father's faithful friends;
While shouts proclaim the Sachem's choice,
To be my children's common voice.
And I this war-belt[90] have decreed,
To him who does the noblest deed,
Who strikes no blow but in the field,
And spares the lives of all that yield.

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86 A devoted prisoner may take sanctuary in his wigwam or hut.—A. S. DE P.

87 A very unusual circumstance, as the Indians, by the help of a wire in form of a screw, take out all hairs but what cover the crown of the head.—A. S. DE P.

88 Two Indian villages.—A. S. DE P.

89 Wrought in a war-belt, which those who carry it are said to trail.—A. S. DE P.

90 A large belt, called the war-belt of reward, consisting of 12,000 beads of wampum. Here the Colonel took another opportunity of informing the chiefs that prisoners were fair game, but if any of their young warriors scalped even any of the dead during this war, they must never expect he would look upon them again.—Whereupon they gave a general shout of approbation.—A. S. DE P.

1779: SOUTHWESTERN EXPEDITION

[Letter from De Peyster to General Haldimand. Reprinted from *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, ix, p. 390.]

MICHILIMACKINAC, 9th July, 1779.

SIR—On the 29th June I acquainted Your Excellency that I was sending off a party towards the Pee Since which I received from St. Josephs (which they had from the Illinois so late as the 28th of May), that the Rebels were in great forwardness to march with 700 men to the Wabash against Detroit, and that one Linctot is to march 400 horse by St. Josephs.

In consequence of this intelligence I have detached Lieutenant Bennet who went off the next day with twenty soldiers, about 60 Traders and Canoe Indians to endeavour to intercept Linctot, or attempt anything in that Quarter which may be conducive to distress the Rebels. The numbers of Indians will daily increase. Allowing the whole of this report to be false the Movement will still answer a good purpose as it will secure the wavering Indians particularly the Pottawatamies, keep up the spirit of the inhabitants of Detroit Settlement and greatly deter the Rebels from any attempt that way seeing they are much disturbed in thinking that the Indians would remain neuter & let them pass. I have purchased the Welcome & let her stay with provisions and some goods to enable Mr. Bennet to speak to the Pottawatimies, Mascoutins, Quicapoues, and Miamis.

I have the honor to be

A. S. DE PEYSTER.

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 391.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 21st July 1779.

SIR—The Bearer of this Letter St. Paul, goes down to Montreal to fetch up Canoes and provisions to enable him to send down his pack, such is the necessity of quitting the place to the great prejudice of His Majesty's Service. I wrote to Detroit

on this subject and hope this reasonable request will not be refused. No vessel as yet sent this year from that Quarter. I once sent the Sloop Welcome thither and she returned since which I am obliged to employ her on Lake Michigan. It would be necessary for the good of the Service (If your Excellency thought proper) to order a vessel to ply constantly twixt the two places, in the situation we are in at present. The Indians are in constant alarm, and are often much [so] persuaded Detroit is taken that they are ready to leave their habitations. So much are they exposed to the impositions of designing people, which I have not in my power to contradict for want of more frequent intelligence. The commanding officer at Detroit gives me all the intelligence he receives. But to hear often that all is well would be most essential service in the management of Indians.

The last accounts from Lieut. Bennet say that the Indians join the Collier de Guerrie [War-belt] fast; it is a yard and a half in length, and has a great medal tied to it as a reward for him who does the greatest action free from cruelty. The other Chiefs on the March received strings of Wampum from Linctot, who requests of them to remain neuter, and let him pass to Detroit with a body of Horse. They sent me the strings and detained his Messenger. Some Indians are just returned from the falls of the ohio where the Rebels have a Fort. they killed four of their Soldiers but did not scalp them. whilst they were thus employed another band from their Village (i. e. the Grand River) upon a visit to the Rebels at Kaskaskias, they met on their return and shewed three Kegs of Rum, but declared they got no other presents. such is the traffic carried on by many nations at present.

If your Excellency has not thought proper to order me to Detroit, or to give me leave of absence altogether I must in such case request as a favor you will allow me to pass the ensuing winter at Quebec to leave this when the Indians return to their wintering Ground, and all the communication with the rest of the world draws to a close, and should you find it necessary, I will return here early in the Spring. I have the honor to be &c.

A. S. De Peyster

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source same as preceding document, but pp. 391, 392.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 9th August, 1779.

SIR—I have accounts that Clark is on the March to the Ouiat [anon] with 500 men followed by 200 Oxen, the remainder of his provisions to go up the Ohio and Wabashe. Linctot marches with a party from the pey [Peoria] to join him at the Ouiat or Miamis, their object is said to be Detroit. I believe by this time we have 500 Indians on the look out to harass them on their March and endeavour to draw them into an ambuscade, which I have ordered to be laid for them. I have sent off Matchiquis & his band with Lieut Cloves [Clowes][91] to join Mr. Benet. I am Sir &c.

A. S. DE PEYSTER

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source same as preceding document, but p. 392.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 13th August, 1779.

SIR—I have just received the annexed Letter from Lieutenant Benet, I must observe to your Excellency that when Mr. Benet wrote it, the sloop was not arrived at St. Joseph's River with Lieut Cloves and Matchequis and his band, nor was Langlade arrived with his Indians, said to be three hundred, but they must have arrived in two or three days after what effect their arrival will have I know not but it is to be hoped the Weenippigoes & Menomies will change the law of affairs there as they are naturally more brave than the Ottawas, and know

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[91] Lieut. George Clowes joined the 8th infantry, as ensign, in 1770. Shortly after arriving in America he was stationed at Mackinac, probably coming up with De Peyster in 1774. His service upon the upper lakes lasted until 1784. Upon the removal of De Peyster to Detroit, Clowes, then lieutenant, was left in command of the two companies of the 8th, in garrison at Mackinac. He also acted as assistant engineer and paymaster. In 1784 he joined his regiment at Quebec, and returned to England. There he was promoted to a captaincy in 1786, and either died or retired in 1791.—ED.

they are not to have goods sent amongst them unless they strike the enemy. should they also misbehave I hope you see the necessity of curtailing the presents,—one hundred men more at this post would render it independent of the Indians. I have the honor to be &c A. S. De Peyster.

[Letter from Lieut. Thomas Bennett to Major de Peyster, enclosed with preceding letter. Source, same as that document, but pp. 392, 393.]

St. Joseph's 9th Augt. 1779.

Sir—In my last I informed you what fine Speeches the Pottawatamies made me. two days afterwards a Chief called the Petit Bled from Nipicons, came at the Head of the Different Bands of the Pottewatamies, & told me what was said before his arrival was without any other design but mere compliment, but he was now come to see his pure sentiments, that, they returned the detested hatchet and Pipe, which were brought here only to render their Villages miserable, he said they desired tranquility but still insists that he held sacred the hatchet of his former father the French King & would never quit it. as soon as he returned to his Vilage, the others came and made an apology for their Insolence, I gave them an answer such as I thought they deserved. Our Scouts have all been frightened back by Indian Reports, they seem all to be debauched by the thoughts of a French War.

We have not Twenty Indians in our Camp who are not prepairing for leaving us, I believe you will join with me when I say they are a set of treacherous Poltroons, even Kewigushkum himself told the Pottewatamies that he did not come here with his own consent, but that he and his whole Village were drove to it, this in consequence of threats from the Poteawatamies Belts to the Ottawas and us. Mr. Bobie,[92] an officer in Capt.

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[92] Charles Beaubien belonged to the family noted *ante*, p. 235, note 16. He was official interpreter for the Miami, and although accused by Lieut.-Governor Hamilton of treachery and collusion with the Americans, cleared himself and retained the confidence of his superiors. He

Lernoults[93] dept. at the Miamis has joined us to offer his service. he says that there are not fifty Rebells at Post Vincent, that Mr. Linctot passed by the trail toward the River Blanche to join the Rebel army at the Illinois, Mr. Le Gras[94] Commanded their horse (for by all accounts they do not deserve the name of cavalry) who do not proceed by this way by what I am informed.

Baptiste Point au Sable I have taken into custody, he hopes to make his conduct appear to you spotless, he told me Mr. Linctot was at the Pee with about thirty men, when he left it, but was immediately to set off for the Ouiat, which agrees with the account of Mr. Bobie.

As we have no account of an Enemy near us unless treacherous Indians, I would immediately return to Michilimackinac did I not think myself obliged to wait Capt. Lernoult's answer,

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appears to have been the most influential white resident of Fort Miami, and until the close of the Revolution was much employed in treaties and councils. In 1780 he aided in repelling the attack of De la Balme. He married the widow of the chief Richardville, but left no children.—Ed.

[93] Richard Berringer Lernoult was in 1756 commissioned lieutenant of the 8th infantry. Eleven years later he became captain, and in 1771 came to America. His detachment was in 1773 sent to Detroit, where he remained as commander of troops, while Hamilton acted as lieutenant-governor. On the latter's departure for Vincennes (1778), Lernoult became commandant, but was relieved by De Peyster in November, 1779. Upon reaching Quebec, Lernoult was promoted to a majority, and served as Haldimand's adjutant-general until 1783, when he became major of his regiment. Returning to England in 1784, he left the army two years later.—Ed.

[94] J. M. P. Legras was a prominent merchant of Vincennes, who had been captain of militia under the British regime. Upon the advent of the Americans, he supported them heartily with all his influence and fortune. In June, 1779, John Todd appointed him president of the local court at Vincennes, and he had from Clark first a major's, later a colonel's, commission for the militia. He held court at Vincennes as late as 1786. An original letter in the Draper MSS., 50J154, shows that he was a man of considerable education, and conversant with the English language.—Ed.

whether he wants us at or near Detroit, I have deceived him much with respect to our numbers, I thought I could depend more upon the Ottawas, however I have the pleasure to tell you that French and English are all well in Spirits, & only wait for an order to march.

I have no complaint against the Mississequis only their being in such a hurry to leave us. Nibeingushkam and his Friend the old Greyheaded Chippewa stole off without giving us the least notice. They complain that you sent them naked from Michilimackinac & I suppose they will make the same complaint to you of me, notwithstanding they have all been clothed.

We are luckily well intrenched. I am Sir Your Most humble Servant

THOS. BENNETT,
Lieut & Adjt of the Kings Regimt.

To Major De Peyster.

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 393, 394.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 23rd August 1779.

SIR—I am favored with your Excellencys letter of the 3rd July, and return you thanks for the honor done me in the good opinion you are pleased to entertain of my conduct during a long command at this post.[95]

I am very happy to hear that you send Captain Sinclair to relieve me.[96]

I lately acquainted you that Lieut Clowes was gone with the Sloop Welcome to join Lieut Bennett he proceeded as far as the mouth of the [St. Joseph's] River, where he was overtaken by a Trader sent from Lieut Bennett, to acquaint him he was at a place called Kikanimaso, fifteen leagues away this side the river on his way home. That he had waited Twenty days for an answer to his Express sent to Detroit, which was not yet returned, and as all the scouts were returned without having seen

[95] For this letter see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 138, 139. De Peyster had commanded at Mackinac since 1774.—ED.

[96] For biography of Capt. Patrick Sinclair see *Ibid*, p. 141, note 1.—ED.

the enemy, both Canadians and Indians grew homesick, and desired to come back, that seeing the Indians were filing off fast he was obliged to leave St. Joseph's the 14th instant. Some pottawatamies came to Mr. Bennett to apologise for the behaviour of their nation.

Two young chiefs are just arrived, and say that they have scouted as far as the Ouiat, but heard of no Rebels on their March, that there were few at the Ouiat, and did not exceed three hundred at the Isle aux Noir [Illinois] Virginians and as many Creoles, which was told them (near the Ouiat) by Indians who had lately been at Fort Charters. When Mr. Bennet arrives I shall be able to give a more particular account of this *Decouvert*. The Indians say that the noise of their movement deterred the Rebels from advancing, I could wish however that themselves had advanced a little farther. I am in hopes this fall that Mr. Sinclair will be able to collect some corn, as there are so few Traders here, but when Trade flourishes, this place is obliged to have recourse to Detroit.

I have the honor to be &c

A. S. De Peyster.

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand, inclosing Lieutenant Bennett's report. Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 394–397.]

Michilimackinac 4th September 1779.

Sir—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that Lieut. Bennett is returned from St. Joseph's. The enclosed paper is a Journal of his *Decouverté*, which I have thought best to transmit for your information.

I have to observe that the provisions from hence arrived at the river St. Joseph's at the time fixed, so that nothing could be wanting from this Quarter to have enabled him to derive every advantage from his Journey thither, and had the enemy advanced, I am persuaded, that no officer of his Rank would have acquitted himself with more honor.

I yesterday had a Council with the Ottawas, and have made

them most heartily ashamed of their impatience. I have the honor to be &c. A. S. De Peyster.

Lieut. Bennett's Report.

Michilimackinac, Sept. 1st 1779.

Sir—In pursuance to your orders I took post at St. Joseph's on the twenty third day of July before the Potowatimies were assembled. I threw up an entrenchment sufficient to oppose a superior number of savages, in case their intention should be to insult or surprize us.

The Potawatamies of St. Joseph's, of the Petit Coeur de Cerf, and the Terre Coupée [97] were ye first who visited us. they declared their Intentions to be to assist us in every thing, that lay in their powers, and promised that they would always look upon the enemies of their Father the King of England as theirs.

I, as soon as possible, sent out parties of the Ottawas and Chippewas with some of the Potawatamies and Volunteers to the Pee, the Ouia, and the Miamis to endeavour to get some intelligence of the Enemy, and if possible to bring Prisoners or to distress them in any other manner they might think most eligible.

The Party ordered to the Pee returned back in two days to all appearance frightened by the threat and persuasions of some of the Potawatamies they met on the road.

The Detachment to the Ouia in five or six days also returned much in the same situation, and at the same time informed me that there was but a few Canadians (residents) at the place and no appearance of an Enemy in that Quarter.

Nothing extraordinary from the Miamis.

Three days after my arrival at St. Joseph's, I also sent an Express to Captain Lernoult informing him of the Disposition

[97] Three Potawatomi villages. The first was situated near the fort, probably on the west side of the river; the last on what is now known as Terre Coupée prairie, in the northwestern corner of the present St. Joseph County, Ind.—Ed.

of the Savages (at least as it appeared to me) and beg'd to know if I could render him any service either with my own Party, or in conjunction with any other he might send to join me from Detroit.

I had the Negro Baptiste point au Sable brought Prisoner from the River Du Chemin,[98] Corporal Tascon who commanded the Party very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his house, or doing him any injury, he secured his Packs &c which he takes with him to Michilimackinac. the Negro since his imprisonment has in every respect behaved with [as] becoming a man in his situation, and has many friends, who give him a good character. He informed me that Mr. Linctot some time before had left the Pee, with thirty Canadians to join Mr. Clarke, at the falls of the River Blanche, to go to the Ouia, which intelligence was afterwards confirmed.

The Potawatamies, Head[ed] by the Petit Bled Chief of the Village [of] Nipicons, repent of their fair proimses they made me, returned the Pipe & Belt I gave them and declined engaging in a war in which their French father is concerned, and as soon as I left the Counsel I was informed that Kusigushkan (Chief of the Ottawas)[99] told the Petit Bled that the Ottawas were forced much against their Inclinations to join the English on the present occasion, that upon their leaving Arbre Croche they were determined not to go further than St. Joseph's and seemed to coincide with him in his opinion, should the French take a part in the War.

The Ottawas want[ed] much to return. not choosing to Disappoint Captain Lernoult, should he have form'd any plan in consequence of the favorable account I gave him of the In-

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[98] It would appear from this and preceding documents that Baptiste Point du Sable was driven from Chicago by Langlade, probably in the spring of 1779; that he removed his effects to Rivière du Chemin, now known as Trail Creek, at whose mouth is Michigan City, Indiana; and that he was there taken into custody by Lieutenant Bennett, and transported to Mackinac.—Ed.

[99] This must be the chief whom, in his chronicle, De Peyster calls Quiouygoushkam.—Ed.

dians, I desire[d] them to stay till I hear from him (of which I was in daily expectation, my express having been sent off fourteen days, from St. Joseph's) with great reluctance they consented to remain three days demanding at the same time five Cags of Rum when the time was expir'd finding I would not stir till I could hear from Captain Lernoult, a part of them went away, the remainder asked for two more Cags of which I very unwillingly gave them (they having already drank more than was at first intended for them) telling them that if there was no other method of detaining them than by constantly supplying them with Rum that I would rather choose to be left alone with the Volunteers. Mr. Langlade arrived and brought with him sixty Chippewas, who demanded Rum in so haughty a manner that I refused giving them any, & being assured that their motives in coming to us was to partake of our Provisions (of which we had only remaining but for fifteen days) I set out on my return to Michilimackinac leaving Mr. Langlade to wait a day longer for our Express (which was now gone nineteen days) intending to return should I find it necessary from the Mouth of the River where I intended waiting a Day for him—not to be any longer importuned by the Savages.

Mr. Langlade having waited according to orders at St. Joseph's informed me that the Express was not arriv'd. I therefore left the River & in two days arrived at the river Okikanamayo, from whence I saw a vessel steering towards St. Joseph's

I instantly sent a Canoe after her to inform the master w[h]ere we were encamp'd and that we left St. Joseph's, having provisions only to carry us to Michilimackinac. Mr. Hep who conducted ye Canoe inform'd Lt. Clowes that my intention was to return to St. Joseph's as soon as we had a further supply of Provisions Lt. Cloes sent me a message by Mr. Hepe that he had provisions on board & that if I meant to return or wanted anything from on board, He desired I could send him a Canoe immediately—As soon as possible, I returned myself with as many of the Volunteers as choos'd to accompany me, hoping yet to be of some service, aided by Lt. Cloes & Michiguiss with ten

of his band I made no delay till I arrived at the river, w[h]ere I found that the Vessell had sail'd, but being in hopes that she was tacking about with an intention to return, I Encamp'd & sent Mr. Langlade again up to St Joseph's to see if anything extraordinary had happened since our departure upon his return he informed me that affairs were in ye same state as when we first left ye place, having waited two days & a half for the return of the Vessel, & having only seven days provisions left I resolved upon returning to Michilimackinac

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Canadians behaved with the greatest appearance of zeal for the Service possible, and seem greatly disappointed in not having had it in their power to distinguish themselves

Also the Soldiers who were of the Party, I flatter myself I need not inform you of their Eagerness to meet the Enemy.

Amiable a young Ottawa Chief was the only Indian who returned with me, he seems no less zealous for ye good of ye service than ashamed at the dastardly, unsteady conduct of the rest of the Indians

I have ye honour to be Your most obedient humble Servant

THOS. BENNETT

Lieut & Adjt of ye Kings (or 8th) Regimt

To Major De Peyster Commanding the Garrison of Michilimackinac.

Endorsed: From Lieut Bennett to Major De Peyster in form of a Journal of his Expedition to St Joseph's Dated Septr 1st Rec'd 24th in the Major's letter of 4th September.

1779: CLOSE OF CAMPAIGN

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 397.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 24th Sept. 1779.

SIR—The Indians are all gone to their wintering Grounds appearently well disposed. I herwith enclose their speech to me on their taking leave, for your Excellency's perusal.

The only assistance they have required for the ensuing Campaign was privately to beg me to Lodge with some careful trader on the way, three or four parcels of powder with a proportion of Ball, and some spare fuzees they say they hope of this moderation to make amends for the great expense they have hitherto put Government to without doing any essential Service.

I have the honor to be &c

A. S. De Peyster

[Letter from De Peyster to Haldimand. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 398.]

Michilimackinac 5th October 1779.

Sir—I have the pleasure to acquaint Your Excellency that Lieut. Governor Sinclair arrived at this Post yesterday in good health, he proposes to write to your Excellency by a light Canoe which leaves this in a few days. You may depend that nothing shall be wanting in me to give him every information in my power, & I believe I shall have full time to talk affairs over with him, as there is no vessel here to take me to Detroit whither I shall repair agreeable to your orders by the first opportunity.

I have the pleasure to give up everything in a quieter state. The Indians are all gone to their several winterings. The Traders are also sent to their different stations, after having formed a general store, in which they unanimously entered.

By this step I have been able to turn every bad man out of the Indian Country. I mean such as never desired to pay their debts or were suspected of wanting to go off to the Enemy one of them named pero [Perrault] lately went off *en cachet.* I sent after, and overtook him, on this side La Bay, but he rather than return, blew himself up with a Barrell of powder. I did propose in case I had been ordered down to Quebec, to have verbally represented the misconduct of some of the Traders of the North West, having also waited in hopes to get some more

Information from Mr. Oaks, who I am informed through a scarcity of provisions is gone directly down the country. It is that gentleman therefore and to Mr. Patterson I must beg leave to refer you for a particular Account of what they had concerning the people who were lately murdered by the Indians. I understood that the mischief was brought on thro' the imprudence of two of the killed namely *Cole* and *prudhome* and by the misconduct of Messrs. Homes, McCormick and Graves. I am Sir &c.

A. S. De Peyster

1780: LANGLADE'S SERVICES

[Letter from Madame Langlade to a priest at Montreal. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

Montreal, January 16th, 1780.

Reverend Father—You have always manifested so much friendship for Mr Langlade, my Husband, that I have no Hesitation in asking you to recommend me to His Excellency and to remind him of the Services rendered by my husband during the twenty years he has been Employed in the Service, to the detriment of his private interests and of his family's welfare. In one of his Letters written last autumn and dated at Michilimackinac, he tells me that the Commandant, influenced either by his enemies or by Caprice, has Given him much annoyance by making use of his own Pupils instead of him.[1] He does not deserve such a reward, as You know. I Also fear that some of Those same Enemies may turn His Excellency Against him. A few words from you might Prevent this and have Justice done Him as is his due.

If His Excellency would grant me a permit for a Canoe load

[1] It seems evident that Governor Sinclair did not appreciate Langlade's services as thoroughly as had his predecessor, De Peyster; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 149.—Ed.

this spring I would go and join him and I could thus Take my Things and minor Necessaries.[2] I therefore Beg you, reverend father, to be good enough to speak to him about It and you will be doing a good action, as is your custom.

I remain with respect, Reverend father

[Bourassa Langlade]

1780: BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST ST. LOUIS

[Letter from Pierre Prevost[3] to George Rogers Clark, dated February 20, 1780. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS., 50J14.]

Monsieur—It is fitting that I should acquaint you with what is happening here against the United States of America.

Two collars and two Bostonnise[4] scalps have been brought to the Sacs and Renards by the poux [Potawatomi] of detroit who say to these people that if they do not attack you war will be declared upon them By all the other nations and The troops of the King. But as they are not yet assembled together they have decided nothing as yet and have put off their response until they meet at the River des mouins where they are invited by a

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[2] See Madame Langlade's application to Haldimand, *Ibid*, p. 150. The signature should be "Bourassa Langlade"—the manner in which Madame Langlade signs in the Mackinac Register, *post*.—Ed.

[3] Pierre Prevost was an inhabitant of Kaskaskia, engaged in the Indian trade on the upper Mississippi. As his letter proves, he was an educated Frenchman, and favorable to the American cause. In 1781 he was chosen to bear the petition of the French habitants of the Illinois to Virginia. Whether he accomplished his mission or not is unknown. He was registered as head of a family in Kaskaskia in 1783; and was in 1784 in Cahokia, where he appears to have been associated with Gabriel Cerré; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, index.—Ed.

[4] The Americans were known as "Bostonais" or "Bastonnais" by the French habitants and Indians of the North and Northwest.—Ed.

certain Calvée,[5] a Trader and an employee in the Service of the King for the tribesmen. This man has also brought a Collar from Michilimakinac which he has not yet spoken upon, consequently one does not know what he intends to say. However as Until the present he has always Been Opposed to You there is every reason to believe that he still designs plotting in the same way especially since it is true that since the Savages have Seen this man they have made threats of Plundering us of our goods.

Whatever you may think, this Sort of an employee for the King to Speak to the tribesmen is a bird of bad omen. I have nothing more to say on this matter.

I have the honor to be with respect, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant

PREVOST

RIVER AUX HAHAS,[6] Feb. 20, 1780.

I have just learned at the present moment that the people from michilimakinac who are at the River des moins tell the

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[5] Joseph Calvé was a trader among the Sauk and Foxes, probably several years previous to 1776. Having acquired considerable influence, his services were sought by the British government, but this overture was at first declined because it would interfere with his commercial interests. He was, however, finally won over by the English, and organized one division of the attack upon St. Louis in May, 1780. He was accused by Sinclair of treachery, but succeeded in justifying his conduct and was reinstated in government employ, being sent in 1783 to notify the tribesmen of the Anglo-American treaty of peace. He was in Mackinac in 1784, on his way to Montreal. The Joseph Calvé of St. Louis appears to have been a nephew of the Wisconsin trader. See Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, p. 199.—ED.

[6] River Oahahah (Auhahah) was the Indian designation for Salt River, in Pike County, Missouri—see Arrowsmith's map of the United States, 1796; also *Pike's Expeditions*, i, p. 7. It is also suggested that the present Fabius River was named from *fabas* (Old Spanish, for bean or *habas*), so that either of these streams may be the one here designated. The writer of this letter had evidently started on a trading voyage to the upper Mississippi—probably to the Sauk and Foxes—and alarmed by the news of British activity in that region had stopped to send word to Clark.—ED.

Savages that they regard you As The meanest of wretches, saying everything against you and all the People of the Illinois advising the Savages to Pillage all those who Come from there, consequently I have not yet gone from here, I could not probably Withdraw without losing money, because of the Counsel of these rascals.[7]

To Monsieur G. R. Clark commandant in chief of the troops of the United States of America in the department of the Illinois, at Kaskaskia.

1780: SPANISH REPORT OF ATTACK ON ST. LOUIS

[Letter from Martin Navarro to José de Galvez,[8] dated Aug. 18, 1780. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Your Excellency—While we were under the belief that the English had been falsely charged with the atrocities committed in North America upon persons of all classes in that continent by the hands of the various savage tribes who followed their banners, there was given a most amazing proof of the fact by Captain Esse[9] at the head of three hundred regular troops and

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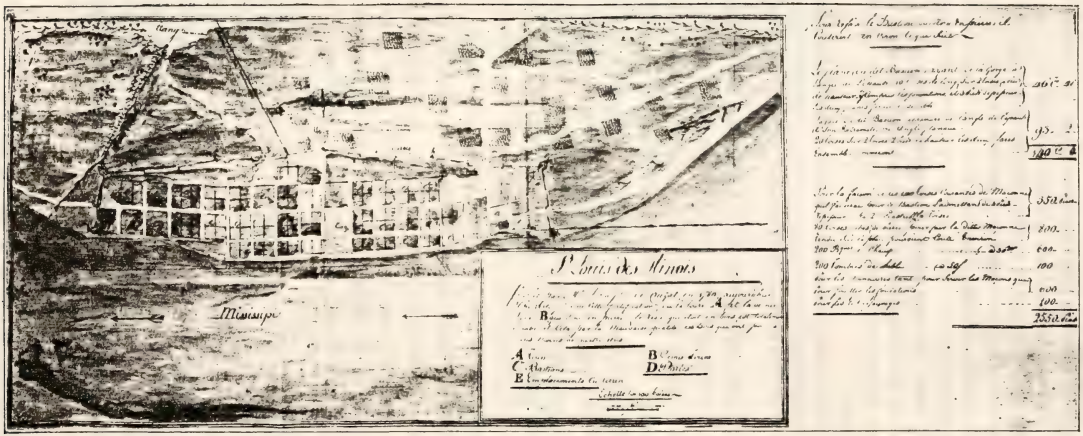
[7] For the inception of this expedition against St. Louis and the Illinois settlements, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 145, note 1. The plan was a comprehensive one, ordered from England, and included the capture of the Spanish settlements by a joint expedition from Mobile at the south and Mackinac on the north. The southern campaign failed, because of the activity of the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez. The northern expedition, gathering at Prairie du Chien, advanced as far as St. Louis; see documents *post*. Sinclair's activity in arousing the Western tribesmen is evidenced by his letters, *Ibid*, pp. 144-152.—Ed.

[8] Martin Navarro was Spanish intendant of Louisiana, from the beginning of the Spanish regime until his retirement in 1788. His letter is addressed to Don José de Galvez, president of the Council of the Indies in Spain, and uncle of the Louisiana governor.—Ed.

[9] Emanuel Hesse was appointed lieutenant of the Royal Americans (Feb. 17, 1756), probably from the province of Pennsylvania. By 1759



PLAN OF ST. LOUIS, 1780

Photograph from original MS. map in General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain, where it accompanies a document among the "Papers from Cuba," taken to Seville after the Spanish-American War

nine hundred savages which left not the least doubt that this nation, having forgotten how to make war according to the system practiced in Europe, does not desire to be false in America to the title with which an author of ability has characterized it.

Captain Don Fernando de Leyba of the infantry regiment of Luisiana was commandant at the post of San Luis de Ylinoises;[10] and having received information that a body of one thousand two hundred men, composed partly of savages and partly of troops, was being drawn up for an attack upon the town under the orders of Captain Esse, he fortified it as well as its open situation permitted. He built at the expense of the inhabitants a wooden tower at one of the ends of the town, overlooking it, and placed therein five cannon. In addition to these he had some cannon with which he defended the two intrenchments that he threw up at the other two extreme points. These were manned by twenty-nine veteran soldiers and two hundred and eighty-one countrymen. The enemy arrived May twenty-sixth at one o'clock in the afternoon, and began the attack upon the post from the north side, expecting to meet no opposition; but they found themselves unexpectedly repulsed by the militia which guarded it. A vigorous fire was kept up on both sides, so that by the service done by the cannon on the tower where the aforesaid commander was, the defenders at least succeeded in keeping off a band of villains who if they had not opportunely

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he had left the army and entered the fur-trade. Sinclair speaks of him as a man of character, and gave him a captain's commission, probably in the Indian department. No more is known of him after this campaign of 1780.—Ed.

[10] Fernando de Leyba was a native of Barcelona, in Spain. Appointed captain of the Louisiana infantry regiment, he came to New Orleans with Unzaga in 1769. Chosen lieutenant-governor of Spanish Illinois, he arrived at St. Louis June 17, 1778. Upon Clark's conquest of British Illinois, that officer entered into intimate relations with De Leyba, whom he found a courteous gentleman, much to his taste. During the troubled years of the latter's governorship, he and Clark maintained the pleasantest and most helpful relationship. De Leyba's wife died in 1779; he himself succumbed soon after the attack on St. Louis, dying June 27, 1780, and being buried in the churchyard of that village—Ed.

been met by this bold opposition on our part would not have left a trace of our settlements. There were also to be heard the confusion and the lamentable cries of the women and children who had been shut up in the house of the commandant, defended by twenty men under the lieutenant of infantry, Don Francisco Cartabona;[11] the dolorous echoes of which seemed to inspire in the besieged an extraordinary valor and spirit, for they urgently demanded to be permitted to make a sally. The enemy at last, seeing that their force was useless against such resistance, scattered about over the country, where they found several farmers who with their slaves were occupied in the labors of the field. If these hungry wolves had contented themselves with destroying the crops, if they had killed all the cattle which they could not take with them, this act would have been looked upon as a consequence of war, but when the learned world [*mundo filosofico*] shall know that this desperate band slaked their thirst in the blood of innocent victims, and sacrificed to their fury all whom they found, cruelly destroying them and committing the greatest atrocities upon some poor people who had no other arms than those of the good faith in which they lived, the English nation from now on may add to its glorious conquests in the present war that of having barbarously inflicted by the hands of the base instruments of cruelty the most bitter torments which tyranny has invented. The number of dead, wounded and prisoners is detailed in the report and information is constantly looked for as to the end of the prisoners, which is believed to be as unfortunate as that of their companions, perhaps more so.

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[11] Sylvio Francisco de Cartabona was lieutenant in the Louisiana regiment, and advanced to the Illinois with De Leyba, who left him to command at Ste. Geneviève. Upon his summons to assist in the defense of St. Louis, he enrolled the local militia under Charles Vallé, who acted with spirit and courage. When he felt his own death approaching, De Leyba again sent for Cartabona, and the latter succeeded him as acting lieutenant-governor of Illinois, until the arrival of Francisco Cruzat in September, 1780. Then he returned to the command of Ste. Geneviève, which he retained until 1784.—Ed.

General Statement[12]

	Whites.			*Slaves.*		
	Dead	Wounded	Prisoners	Dead	Wounded	Prisoners
	15	6	11	7	1	13
Misisipi			46			
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	15	6	57	7	1	13

This information is sent Your Excellency for your guidance. I shall take care to report to Your Excellency any news henceforth, not only of this post but also of all others in the colony.

Our Lord preserve the valuable life of Your Excellency.

Your Excellency, Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand. MARTIN NAVARRO.

NUEVA ORLEANS, August 18, 1780.

His Excellency Senor Don José de Galvez.

[Response to preceding letter, from same source.]

The King has been greatly pleased at the vigorous defense made by Captain Don Fernando de Leiva and Lieutenant Don Francisco Caravona in repulsing the English Captain Esse who intended to surprise them and dislodge them from the post of San Luis de Ylinoeses; and in proof of his sovereign gratitude he has decided to confer upon the first the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and on the second that of Captain, commissions for whom I enclose to Your Lordship that you may arrange to communicate them to the interested parties. His Majesty was unable to look with less grief upon the unhappy lot which those

[12] For the British report of the number of killed and captured, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 156. Their estimate of casualties largely exceeds that of the Spanish. The prisoners on the Mississippi were probably in part those taken at the lead mines—*Ibid*, p. 151; also those captured with Gratiot's boat—*Ibid*, p. 151, note 1; see also Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, pp. 209–214, and the report of William Brown, captured by the Winnebago Indians, in *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 6, pp. 44–46.—ED.

innocents suffered who had the misfortune to be victims of the ferocity of an officer so deeply dyed with inhumanity. I enclose to Your Lordship for comparison herewith a letter of the Intendant Don Martin Navarro dated August 18 last.

God protect your Lordship many years.

José De Galvez

El Pardo, February 3, 1781.
His Lordship the Governor of Luisiana.

[Response to preceding letter, from same source.]

Your Excellency—From Your Excellency's office I received February 9 the royal commissions of Lieutenant Colonel for the captain of this regiment, Captain Fernando de Leyba, and of captain for the lieutenant of the same, Don Francisco Cartabona, with which His Majesty has deigned to reward the zeal which both exhibited at the post of Ylinoeses by their vigorous repulse of the English Captain Esse, as Your Excellency was informed by the intendant of this province, Don Martin Navarro, under date of August 18 of last year.

The first of these officers died some time ago; but I will take care that the royal commission shall be forwarded as soon as possible to the second, who still remains at that post, and that he shall be recognized as of the rank of captain according to the will of our sovereign.

God protect Your Excellency many years.

Your most obedient servant kisses Your Excellency's hand.

[Bernardo] De Galvez [13]

Nueva Orleans, July 19, 1781.
His Excellency Don José de Galvez.

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[13] Bernardo de Galvez was born in 1756 of a powerful family, his father being viceroy of Mexico, and his uncle one of the first ministers of state. In 1776 he was chosen governor-general of Louisiana, and arrived at New Orleans to assume his function, Feb. 1, 1777. He was energetic, and popular with the Louisianians, among whom he married. He strongly sympathized with the American colonists, and before Spain's declaration of war upon England, secretly aided them. As soon as the

1780: FURS SAVED AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[Before the return of the expedition against St. Louis, Sinclair sent out a supplementary force to assist in bringing off the traders' effects from Prairie du Chien, and to protect the retreat.[14] They secured a large amount of peltry, and retired not long before the appearance of an American force.[15]]

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news of that event reached Galvez, he gathered his forces and captured the neighboring English forts of Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. The following spring (March 14, 1780) he secured the surrender of Mobile, and in 1781 that of Pensacola. He was liberally rewarded by the government for his brilliant exploits, and upon the death of his father (1785) was made viceroy of Mexico, where he remained until his own death in August, 1794.—Ed.

[14] This expedition seems to have been in charge of Sergeant Phillips of the 8th infantry, and to have been composed chiefly of Indians and a few Canadian militia. Our chief source of information concerning this supplementary campaign is from the "Voyages of John Long," a northern trader then sojourning at Mackinac; see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 185–190. Long represents himself as in command of the forces; but Sinclair's letters (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 153, 155) show that Phillips of the regulars was the authorized leader. They found Langlade guarding Prairie du Chien, and brought off about three hundred packs of furs, burning the rest, lest the Americans should secure them.—Ed.

[15] The American expedition following the retreating British was commanded by Col. John Montgomery, and under Clark's orders advanced for some distance up the Illinois. The rumor of their approach led to the retreat of the Chicago division of the British expedition. Montgomery thereupon left his boats and marched overland to the Rock and Mississippi rivers. On the former stream he burned a large Sauk town, with its cornfields. Long says (*opus* cited in preceding note) that a party of Americans reached Prairie du Chien five days after he had retired therefrom. We have discovered no contemporary account of Montgomery's expedition, save a brief report in *Va. State Papers*, iii, p. 443. Dr. Draper collected several pension statements of participants. From these sources, in the Draper MSS., it would appear that the main body went no farther than the mouth of Rock River; but a detachment may, as stated by Long, have been sent to secure plunder at Prairie du Chien. If so, this would apparently be the first American expedition into what is now the state of Wisconsin.—Ed.

1780: SCOUTING FROM MACKINAC.

[The letter of Capt. John Mompasson,[16] printed in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, ordering Langlade to go upon a scout, should be dated Aug. 27, 1780, not 1778.]

1780: SPANISH REPORT ENGLISH INTRIGUES

[Letters from Francisco Cruzat[17] to Gov. Bernardo Galvez, dated Dec. 2 and 19, 1780. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; press-mark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Dear Sir—Such are the movements which the English show in this barbarous and inhuman war, in order that they might succeed in their attempts, that even in the Misury they had introduced two of their banners, which I have had surrendered to me by telling the tribes, who had received them, that in order to be our allies they ought not to have in their villages other ensigns than the Spanish. I send them to Your Lordship by Don Agustin Choteau,[18] together with two others and thirteen

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[16] For sketch of this officer, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 162.—Ed.

[17] Francisco Cruzat was of Spanish birth, and lieutenant-colonel in the Louisiana regiment. In 1775 he was appointed governor of Spanish Illinois. Superseded by De Leyba in 1778, he was sent back upon the latter's decease, and took over the government from Cartabona Sept. 24, 1780. He remained at this post until Nov. 27, 1787, an efficient and popular administrator.—Ed.

[18] Auguste Chouteau was born in New Orleans Sept. 26, 1750. At the age of thirteen he came with his mother to Illinois. Under his directions was built the first house on the site of St. Louis. Upon the death of his step-father Laclède, he assumed control of the latter's estate, and having successfully embarked in the fur-trade became prosperous and was long regarded as the first citizen of St. Louis. Upon the American advent (1804), Chouteau was appointed justice and colonel of militia. He organized in 1807 the first banking-house at St. Louis. In 1786 he married Marie Thérèse Cerré, and at his death (Feb 24, 1829) left a large family and considerable estate.—Ed.

medals which the Sac tribe had surrendered to him, as I have informed Your Lordship under date of September twenty-nine, and also another banner and medal which a chief of the Pu [Potawatomi] tribe just surrendered to me.

All these chiefs, who have surrendered these medals, desire that they be replaced by Spanish medals, but I have not been able to do that because enough of them were not brought up for all of them. Consequently, I shall desire that, if there is an opportunity, some of them be sent me, so that I may content said chiefs, as well as some copies of the printed permits, since, of those which I brought up with me, only two remain, and those who have received them have been caused great joy. With these we can succeed in contenting them.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT

SAN LUIS DE YLINNESES, December 2, 1780.

Don Bernardo de Galvez.

DEAR SIR—Each day the news that I have communicated to Your Lordship regarding the continual transporting by the English of all kinds of effects and ammunition, to the bay [Green Bay] and to many other points in order that they might come next spring to attack us earlier than they did last spring in order to achieve this end, are being confirmed more and more in these settlements. One cannot imagine the expenses which the English are incurring and the exorbitant amounts of merchandise which are continually consumed among the Indian tribes, in order to attract them to their side, inducing them, by deceitful and threatening words, to turn against us. There is a rumor that the commandant of Micheli Mekinak is about to come himself at the head of said Indian tribes and other white people in order to direct the action better than that which they performed here in the month of May last. I have news also that the great chief of the Sios [Sioux] tribe, one of the most

important tribes of these districts, and established on the upper part of the Misisipy, is returning to his tribe from Michely Makinak, where he had gone, with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, not only to arouse his tribe but also those who are near him. Since this chief called La Oja [the Leaf],[19] exercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them.

Nevertheless, in order to destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some measures, of which I shall inform Your Lordship after they have been executed.

I have just learned that a band of the Aioas [Iowa], doubtless excited by the enemy, has corrupted the Hotos [Oto] tribe which is located on the upper Misury and has promised them to join the other tribes opposed to us in order to show as great hostility as possible toward us. I do not doubt the truth of this, for I know the Indians, and I know by experience that the appearance of gain does not excite them to take action, but the reality of the presents does. Since the English make so many of these to all the tribes of whom they wish to make use, they always obtain from them whatever they desire, unless, by the same methods, we destroy their hopes by deceiving the barbarians as they are doing, and, as I have already said, with exorbitant gifts. By this news, although it deserves some confirmation, and by other, which I am receiving daily, and which is current in these countries, but which I omit, as they are related to one another, Your Lordship can infer the situation of these settlements and that of the tribes allied to us. I am contriving to satisfy them more by astuteness than by presents, for, although I work by means of presents as much as is possible to me, they never reach the hundredth part of those which our enemies are distributing among them, as is well known and as Your Lordship can inform yourself—a reason which makes it possible for them to find as many Indian auxiliaries as they

[19] This was the well-known Wabasha, whom the French called La Feuille (the Leaf). See *ante*, p. 381, note 35.—Ed.

wish. Consequently, it is necessary for me to petition Your Lordship to deign to quickly despatch Messrs. Choteau and Serré [20] in order that I may be able to know the news and provisions of Your Lordship which the citizens of all these settlements desire so ardently, and which I consider very favorable for obtaining the ends which I desire.

May God preserve Your Lordship for many years.

Your most humble servant kisses Your Lordship's hands.

FRANCISCO CRUZAT.

SAN LUIS DE YLINNESES, December 19, 1780.

Don Bernardo de Galvez.

1781: WARNING TO TRADERS

[Letter from Sinclair, probably to Langlade.[21] Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MICHILIMAKINAC January 30th, 1781.

SIR—The Chief Object Mr Campion [22] had in view in setting out on his Journey was to warn the Traders in the West of the Attempts made by the Enemy to pillage the Goods and Mer-

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[20] Jean Gabriel Cerré, later the father-in-law of Auguste Chouteau, had been the most prominent merchant of British Illinois. Born in Canada in 1734, he came to Kaskaskia in 1755, and there married Catherine Giard. When Clark captured Kaskaskia, Cerré was absent on a trading voyage; but he soon returned, and gave his allegiance to the Americans. In 1779 he bought a lot in St. Louis and soon removed his family thither, dying there April 4, 1800. See *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 2, pp. 58–76.—ED.

[21] There is no superscription to this letter; but both from the circumstance of its being found among the Langlade papers, and the general context, we infer that it was written to Langlade.—ED.

[22] Etienne Campion and his brother Alexis were natives of Montreal and prominent merchants in the upper country. They secured licenses for Western trade in 1778. Etienne was near St. Josephs when, in 1780, that place was attacked by the Cahokians sent by De la Balme. Campion gathered the Indians and pursued and defeated the invaders not

chandise at Miamis and St. Joseph. Although they were in possession of them for a moment, they were finally defeated at both Places and took none of their Plunder away with them.[23]

You and the other Traders of your District cannot be too

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far from South Chicago. He then returned to Mackinac, whence (as it appears by this document) he set out for Green Bay and the West. In the same year, he witnessed the deed for the British purchase of Mackinac Island, and was concerned in many Mackinac affairs until as late as 1794. See Mackinac Register, *post*.—Ed.

[23] This refers to the expedition of Col. Augustin Mottin de la Balme, a French officer who appeared in the West in the summer of 1780, and aroused the French habitants, leading them on an expedition against Detroit. Under what authority De la Balme acted, is not clear; see Alvord's interpretation in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. lxxxix–xciv. He collected a considerable force at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, took possession of Ouiatanon, and marched upon Miami (near the site of Fort Wayne), hoping to capture Charles Beaubien, the British agent at that place. In this, De la Balme was disappointed; but he captured the post, plundered it of goods, and made a retreat. Why he did not march upon Detroit is not known; possibly the Indians in that location were too threatening—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 448, 449; xix, p. 581. Meanwhile, induced by presents from the British agents, the Indians assembled for pursuit. They overtook the expedition near Aboite Creek, surprised the camp in the night, and completely routed the entire force. The leader was killed, and his chief aide-de-camp made prisoner. An account by Legras of Vincennes is found in the Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS., 50J75. The expedition against St. Josephs was also commissioned by De la Balme, and went out from Cahokia, under the leadership of Jean Baptiste Hamelin and Thomas Brady. In the preceding summer, Louis Chevalier and all the French habitants of St. Josephs had been removed from that post as suspects. Meanwhile De Peyster had sent thither Lieutenant De Quindre to protect the place. St. Josephs was surprised by the Cahokian force, and the traders captured and plundered. But Campion and De Quindre pursued the Cahokians as they retreated, and gave them battle (Dec. 5, 1780), not far from South Chicago. Hamelin and all his men save three were killed and taken prisoners, and most of the plunder was recovered. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 450–452; xix, pp. 591, 592.—Ed.

much on your guard against similar Attempts which, it is reported, are intended to be made against you by the Mississipi.

I remain, Sir, Your very humble Servant,

PATT. SINCLAIR
Lt. Gov.

1781: INSTRUCTIONS FOR SPANISH GOVERNOR OF ST. LOUIS

[Martin Navarro to Francisco Cruzat, dated Feb. 15, 1781. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Having examined what Your Grace has advised this government of on different dates from September 26 to December 22 of last year, I shall reply in order to all of them and to each one in this single official communication, because the many diverse matters of the royal service in which I am sunk by the absence of the Governor do not allow time for more.[24]

I can do no less than give Your Grace a thousand thanks for the zeal and activity with which you made the voyage to that village of San Luis in fifty-nine days, arriving at the time most propitious to enable you to place those settlements in a state of defense. The fact that Your Grace took two days more in reaching the American settlement of the Iron Mine[25] preserved you doubtless from an encounter which might have been fatal.

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[24] Galvez, governor-general of Louisiana, had gone on an expedition to capture the English fort of Pensacola, leaving Navarro as governor at New Orleans, *pro tempore*.—ED.

[25] Fort Jefferson was built under the direction of George Rogers Clark in the spring of 1780. It was hoped to attract settlers thither, and build a town, to be called Clarksville. The site was the first high land on the east (or American) shore of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio, at what was later known as Iron Banks (from the red color of the soil), in Ballard County, Kentucky. The fort sustained a considerable siege from the Chickasaw in July, 1780, to which incident the Spanish commandant probably refers in this document. Fort Jefferson was finally abandoned in the summer of 1781.—ED.

I have learned that the Indians succeeded badly with their enterprise, as I hope will happen in whatever they undertake in those districts. This is all I have to reply to the first letter of Your Grace, September 26, last.

By the letter of the 27th of the same month, Your Grace informs our Governor of the critical condition to which you found that village and the other settlements reduced, on account of the threats of the English, and even more, because of the irregular administration which they have experienced. The memory of the occurrence and the causes which produced so pitiful a catastrophe dictated the measures and efforts which Your Grace ought to take. Your zeal and love to the service by which you have always been known to distinguish yourself, at the same time that they will give you the general esteem of all, for your accurate efforts in the defense of those places, will give Your Grace a thousand means for rendering vain the attempts and undertakings of the enemy without the least of those settlements having any reason to complain of the Commandant.

I am informed that Your Grace received the command of those settlements from Lieutenant Don Francisco de Cartabona on September 24, and that you began immediately to take the measures which you considered most conducive to placing that village in a state of defense. With this motive, and in view of the orders of the Court and special instructions which I have, I shall not hesitate to advise Your Grace that notwithstanding your great disinterestedness and the indispensable urgency of a post remote from the capital and threatened every instant by enemies, Your Grace must regulate the expenses incurred with wisdom and economic prudence, without failing in what is necessary, and considering only what is strictly useful, not avoiding likewise any effort and requisite that conduces to it, so that whatever expenses are incurred may appear here to be of clear and evident utility.

I am very greatly pleased with the promptness with which those habitants are ready to sacrifice themselves in defense

of the fatherland and the honor of our arms. Your Grace may from now on assure them of the protection of our sovereign who will not discontinue to reward good citizens as he has always done, and of which we have a recent example in the numerous promotions made in that colony because of the conquests of the English settlements of that river.

I believe it is excellent for Your Grace to have distinguished the zeal and affection of the Sac tribe who have so generously lent to our district in circumstances of so little advantage [to them]. I have reported to our General the good services of the retired officer, Don Esteban Boucher de Mombrun.[26] Your Grace shall encourage him to continue with the same valor, zeal, and experience by assuring him of the particular distinction with which our General will always regard him. He approves immediately the measures that Your Grace has taken of entrusting to this officer a detachment of thirty-two militiamen. In regard to this and other individuals, Your Grace shall make any request in future for the royal interests. It is necessary to proceed with the greatest care, in order to obviate all suspicion, at the same time avoiding the complaints of private persons who must suffer the burdens, and be benefited with all impartiality, preferring these who bear themselves best, and show the greatest zeal and love for the good of the service.

On this occasion, 16 medals are sent and ten flags with 16 letters patent which Your Grace is to distribute among the chiefs of the Sac tribe, who, according to Your Grace's advice of the 28th of September, surrendered thirteen English medals and three banners.

Your Grace shall distribute the present of this year, which is sent by the lighters, in consideration of the fact that we have no effects at present. It is not known when we shall have them, because a powerful fleet which left Havana to attack Panzacola under command of our Governor, suffered a storm of five days'

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[26] Esteban (Etienne) Boucher de Monbruen was either the son or brother of Jacques Timothe, who was county-lieutenant of Illinois (1782-86).—Ed.

duration, so furious that it scattered all the boats, many of which lost their masts. Among them were the war frigates, which put back to Havana with three transports. On the thirteenth of this month, two were captured at Movila and at this river by the English, and the balance of the vessels put into Campeche Bay after sustaining rough usage, whence they did not sail until the fifth of this month. We are daily awaiting our Governor who is to come with one thousand men, after having sent forward the five hundred who are here. Your Grace will see by this detail, what a disaster the measures taken by our General for the inner government of the colony, and the contentment of the savage tribes both friends and enemies, must have suffered.

It is advisable to continue our devotion to the Otabuas [Ottawa] tribes, especially since they can serve us greatly in the present circumstances by opposing the bands of our enemies who might attack those settlements as they did the band of Monsieur Langlade whom they obliged to retire to Michilimackinac. That event and the departure of the two English barks laden with ammunition of war and provisions broke the measures which our enemies had taken to attack these settlements the second time.[27] I hope that Your Grace's zeal will deal with all those tribes in such manner that concurring with our arms in sustaining the honor and glory of our nation, its hopes may have an equally good outcome next spring.

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[27] There are no accounts in the Canadian Archives, so far as published, of this repulse of Langlade. It may have been connected with the scout on which he was ordered—Aug. 27, 1780 (see *ante*, p. 412). There was constant expectation of attack at the Illinois throughout the summer of 1780, and one band of British Indians was driven from Kaskaskia on July 17. In August, the militia both of St. Louis and Cahokia were put under arms in anticipation of a hostile raid; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. lxxxviii, 59, 61. It is interesting to know that the Ottawa were somewhat influenced by the Spaniards and Americans. Sinclair speaks of "rebel belts" having penetrated as far as Saginaw Bay; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 578.—Ed.

Your Grace has done excellently in observing with the official, Monsieur La Balme, the prudent conduct of which you give advice on September 23 last.[28] Although I do not believe that there will be the least difficulty in the habitants of that village having the present which they request, and which belongs to them for the three months of April, May, and June, when they performed service, and which was not granted them by the late Commandant, Don Fernando de Leyva, I have been unwilling to take upon myself the granting of the petition until it is decreed by our General, who will immediately do it in favor of those militias, for which purpose I shall report to him the justice of the request.

Madame de Volsey is in this city.[29] On the date of November fourteenth last, Your Grace advised me that you sent her against your will, because of the occasion of one Malvo. We shall do our best to settle this matter, which appears a trifle difficult and it was finally consigned.

I am advised that Monsieur Sarpi [30] has given you three thousand five hundred *pesos fuertes* for the support of the officers and troops of that detachment, according to the advice of November 15 last.

I am not displeased at the measures which Your Grace took in that post one week after your arrival because of the alarm in those posts, of giving each militiaman, and all the slaves who can bear arms, one-half pound of powder, and one pound of balls, with orders to keep them for any event, and to prove, when they use it, that it was in the service of the river.

I retain review lists for the two months which the detachment, which ascended to Santa Genoveva at the orders of Lieu-

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[28] For the conduct of the Spanish commandant with relation to De la Balme, see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. xci, 621.—Ed.

[29] For the history of this person see Billon, *Annals*, pp. 435-437.—Ed.

[30] Jean Baptiste Sarpy was a native of France, who came to St. Louis about 1766 and was a prominent merchant there for over twenty years. He died in New Orleans, unmarried, in 1798. The Sarpy family of St. Louis are descended from his brother.—Ed.

tenant Don Carlos Vallee,[31] to whom the present was supplied entire, as well as to the other militiamen of that village, stayed in those posts.

It is well for Your Grace to supply by contract the wood needed by the Indians, although, as I have suggested, it will be advisable to economize expenses, only spending what seems absolutely indispensable. In this matter I have believed it well for Your Grace to lessen the number of employees in this service to one hundred men from November 1, last.

I do not believe it bad for Your Grace to keep Monsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe forty leagues from that village,[32] and Monsieur Maye with another detachment of twelve militiamen on the Ylinoa River[33] in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes, by attracting those who are undecided about accepting our friendship, and maintaining our allies in the condition that is advisable for the conservation of those settlements.

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31 For the Vallé family, see *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 7, pp. 54–82. Lieutenant Charles was apparently the son of François, first civil commandant of Ste. Geneviève under the Spanish regime. He evidently entered the Spanish military service, and is said to have reinforced St. Louis on the day of attack (May 26, 1780), acting efficiently and with energy. He married Pelagie Carpentier, and died in Louisiana at an advanced age.—Ed.

32 For Boucher de Monbruen see *ante*, p. 419, note 26. His station must have been at the great Sauk village, just above the mouth of the Des Moines River, about on the site of the town of Montrose, Iowa. This was probably the lowest Sauk town on the western side of the Mississippi, and its distance corresponds to that noted here—forty leagues. He continued in this post for several years; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 66.—Ed.

33 Probably Jean Baptiste Mailhet, concerning whom little authentic information is now obtainable. He appears to have settled on Lake Peoria before Clark's conquest, and to have held a sort of commission from the American forces. His Spanish connections have, we believe, not been known previous to the present publication. He was one of the leaders in the attack on St. Josephs (January, 1781), and was finally killed in 1801 at his Peoria village.—Ed.

Although the information communicated by Your Grace to the government on the 13th of November last, concerning the disembarkation of the French in the River of San Lorenzo [St. Lawrence] does not appear well founded, still it does not cease to be useful in restraining the savages and wanderers who are among them.

If Your Grace could be assured by means of the savages of the commanders who are persuading them to descend to attack those posts, it would be the only method of pacifying those districts without the cost of a single drop of blood. Therefore, Your Grace shall do your best to discover exactly whomever you know in the tribes contrary to our interests. I see the difficulty of the undertaking, but I do not doubt that it can be attained with some, in which case, we shall have fewer enemies.

The accident that occurred with Balafre, the principal chief of the tribe of the Little Osages, will not I believe, have greater results whenever with skill and attention the tribe is given to understand how much cause the said Balafre had in his own destruction. Their anger may be erased with some small present; but you are to keep on the lookout and give the orders suitable so that no accident which may have bad results may again happen.

I have read with special satisfaction Your Grace's information of the 14th of November last, namely, that the Renard tribe requested that it be taken under the protection of the Spanish flag; and really since much utility may result from an alliance with that tribe, Your Grace shall contrive to take the measures possible for confirming their affection and friendship to us, notwithstanding our scarcity of all things.[34]

I am very sorry for what happened to Monsieur la Balme, and that in my opinion, the same had a great part in having perhaps attempted with imprudence, an undertaking which needed more time, more strength, and better circumstances.

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[34] For a speech of Cruzat to the Sauk and Fox tribe, made six days later than the letter here referred to, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 504, 505.—Ed.

Since there does in effect result considerable burden to the royal treasury from buying in those places anything for presents for the Indians, it is advisable, as I have suggested, not to take anything from any of those traders who are able to take advantage of the occasion by causing two hundred per cent more to be paid for their merchandise, so that at last, the end of contenting the savage tribes is not attained, whether because of the scarcity or perhaps because of the inferior quality of the goods.

The disinterestedness and true affection that Monsieur Serre [Cerré] has shown to the nation in all commissions for the service which have been intrusted to his honor and experience shall not remain without recompense. For that reason I shall relate those services to our General as soon as he arrives in this province, which as he writes cannot be long delayed. I shall also remember the special recommendation which Your Grace gives Don Agustin Chuteau, who has chosen to direct the fortification of that post because of the capacity, zeal, and love to the royal service which he has shown on various occasions.

I hope that in spite of the great presents which are distributed by the English among those tribes, and notwithstanding the small sum that we have, their hopes will prove empty, even though the [English] governor descend from Michilimakinak, which I doubt. At all events, the zeal, honor, and activity of Your Grace promises me a happy result on our part in their boasted attack on those settlements next spring.

I approve the determination which Your Grace took with the tribes of the Misuri, in making them hand over the two English banners which had been introduced among them.

Chuteau delivered me the fourteen medals and five English flags which Your Grace recovered from the Sac and Pus tribes. As I have said, they were replaced on this occasion.

Having been persuaded that Your Grace will have decided to fortify that village with the stockade of which you give advice in your letter of December last, and whose plan was given me by Chuteau, only after mature reflection and in view of the best service to the King, observing throughout, moreover, all

economy possible; considering even that this work will be finished before the arrival of the lighters; I approve it with the reservation of what our General will say.

Since the effects, which Your Grace took from Monsieur Sarpi and which were not used, have their kind among those which are sent on this occasion for the present of this year, they shall be returned to the said Sarpi, or put into his possession, keeping in force the contract made, with the end of economizing as much as possible the expenses caused the royal treasury, which are already great, and will immediately appear exorbitant from the simple inspection of Sarpi's note. I do not pretend by this to tax as heedless Your Grace's conduct in these circumstances, for I know in your evident zeal and disinterestedness the fatal results that could be produced by the anger and displeasure of the savage tribes who are so powerful in that part of the world. But at the same time the orders of the court directed to this government to avoid all expense that is not indispensable in order to economize the expenses of the royal treasury as much as possible, without failing in what is necessary in this matter, are very necessary, evident, and positive. You shall regulate your conduct by these principles, and in this way we shall both avoid the responsibility which we should have by neglecting this prudent conduct.

Whenever the American commandants of the western bank of this river agree to observe the same uniform conduct with us, Your Grace shall surrender the deserters whom they demand, under their word of honor not to punish them. But if they do not keep the same rule with us, you shall not surrender any of all those that present themselves. I believe that Your Grace should first have some order in regard to this particular from our Governor or from me, issued in consequence of an official communication given for that purpose by Don Rivero Pollok, agent of the United States.[35]

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[35] Oliver Pollock's services to the American cause have scarcely received due appreciation. A Scotch-Irishman, he came to America before 1760, and in 1762-63 was in Cuba, where he learned Spanish and

In regard to what Your Grace says to me in your letter of December 22, last, on the peace concluded between the American colonies and their former mother-country, it lacks foundation, as does also the coming of Colonel Clark with six hundred men to attack those settlements; and I am immediately sure that if his arrival is effected with a like number, you will enjoy more tranquility than you do now.

I approve Your Grace's formation of the 2d company of militia, which was approved by the Governor-General of this province, January 13 of last year. I do not doubt that the said governor will, as soon as he arrives, issue the fitting despatches to all the officers whom Your Grace proposes, as well as the office of the Adjutant-in-chief in favor of Don Benito Vazquez,[36] in accordance with Your Grace's report in regard to those proposed.

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made the acquaintance of the governor-general. Before 1768 he had decided to remove to New Orleans, and thither brought a cargo of flour the following year, which relieved the city of famine. In consequence he was granted freedom of trade at this port, and the favor of the Spanish authorities. He accumulated a considerable fortune, which at the outbreak of the Revolution was placed by him at the disposal of the States, and drawn upon for furnishing supplies and ammunition to the back country. In 1777 he was appointed official agent for the United States, and financially aided George Rogers Clark's expeditions to the Western country. He was a firm friend of Governor Galvez, upon some of whose campaigns he served as aide-de-camp. Pollock's heavy liabilities for the United States imperilled his fortune, and from 1781–83 he was at Philadelphia negotiating for relief. In 1784, at Havana, he was arrested for debt, and kept under surveillance for eighteen months. After release and a visit to Philadelphia, he returned to New Orleans, where in the following years (1785–91) he partly retrieved his financial standing. About 1791 he retired from business and purchased an estate in Pennsylvania, where he lived until after 1814. Then he went to live with his son-in-law in Mississippi, dying there in 1823.—Ed.

[36] Benito Vasques was born (1750) in Gallicia, Spain, and came to St. Louis (1770) as a subordinate in the troops, with Pedro Piernas. In 1774 he married Julia Papin, a Canadian girl, and made his permanent home in St. Louis. He was the father of a large family, one of his sons serving with Pike in the latter's Western expedition of 1805–06. The elder Vasques died at St. Louis in 1810.—Ed.

It is a good thing for Your Grace to always keep active, and investigate and inquire closely into the actions of your neighbors, from whom I do not believe there is anything for you to fear, other than that they will be seen to be abandoned and come by themselves to make effective the scattered rumors that those habitants are planning to send a messenger to Detroit, demanding English vassals, and begging the protection of His Britannic Majesty. Your Grace will keep the sharpest lookout and take the greatest precautions, and continue to exercise the said attention, in order not to be surprised under any circumstances.

I shall give the fitting orders, for a post to be despatched overland from Los Arcos[37] with news of the ascent of the convoy, in order that Your Grace may send a pirogue to meet it in order to inform it of the innovations which might have occurred in those settlements, and opportunely avoid the fatal results that might follow from not proceeding with safety and with a full knowledge of all things.

Your Grace reports concerning the interpreter, Antonio

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[37] Los Arcos was the post on the Arkansas—one of the oldest in the lower Mississippi valley. In 1686 some of Tonty's men obtained permission to form a settlement at this point, and it was thither the survivors of the murder of La Salle made their way. The settlement was, however, not continuous; for when the Seminary missionaries made their way to this region from Quebec (1699), to found a mission for the Arkansas, there were no traces of previous white occupation. The mission, afterwards transferred to the Jesuits, seems, with occasional intermissions, to have been maintained until 1763. Meanwhile a small post was established here under the supervision of the Louisiana government—probably in 1718, when John Law sent thither a body of German colonists and a number of negro slaves to work his concession upon the Arkansas River. From this time forward a garrison was maintained on the river until the American occupation, the outpost being officially known as St. Etienne, but in common parlance as "Aux Arcs" (at the Arkansas). In 1748 it suffered an attack by the Chickasaw, and four years later the fort was rebuilt. A considerable force was kept here throughout the Spanish regime, but the fort was surrendered to the Americans in 1804.—Ed.

D'Tretreque [38] in regard to his continual work and fatigue, and endeavor shall be made to recompense them; for which purpose the matter shall be reported to the Governor as soon as he arrives.

I forgot to advise Your Grace that no contract or writ for the King, which is not in the Spanish language, must be made or signed by Your Grace. This order must be observed with religious scrupulousness, as such are the wishes of the sovereign.

The certificates given by Your Grace to the militia of that post are discounted by the chief accountancy of this army and province for the allowance of the present which is made in the formal contract for said militia by the review lists which Your Grace sent me November 11 last, and which were sent to the Intendant, as well as an official communication for the undertaking of the lighter, which was provisioned by Lieutenant Don Francisco Cartabona, whose surrender or payment was asked by Monsieur Cerre.

The report of the supplies which Your Grace sent me of those in that post with the note that you are unprovided with many things which are indispensable in case of attack, does not mention the things that Your Grace needs. I showed it to an artillery officer, and, according to his opinion, the cannon sponges are lacking which Your Grace can procure there at less cost than here. It is impossible to send any fuses as we have not here what we need for the service of the camp. However, as Your Grace will see by the enclosed, some balls of the caliber of 4 and 6 with some tools for the service of that detachment, are sent. Since there is an abundance of lead at that post, Your Grace can make some grape shot for the artillery, for which purpose suitable cartidges will be sent.

The conduct which Your Grace has observed in regard to the representation made by the habitants of Post Vincennes is highly approved by me, as well as the fact that Your Grace has

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[38] Possibly the Frenchman Delor de Treget, who came to this country about 1767, and was the first settler of Carondelet. See Billon, *Annals*, p. 492.—Ed.

demanded the collars which the American agent Monsieur Dodge[39] has kept. Since this is really a procedure not at all in keeping with the perfect harmony that ought to reign between us, I have reported the matter to Monsieur Polok, who, disapproving the act, writes on this occasion an order to the effect that the six said collars be surrendered to Your Grace. Your

[39] After the defeat of De la Balme, in the autumn of 1780, the remaining inhabitants of Vincennes, and those of Ouiatanon who had retired to the former place, addressed a petition to Governor Cruzat at St. Louis, detailing their sad situation, and assuring him they would be obliged to abandon their post unless they obtained aid; since all the Indians, lured by English presents, had abandoned them and were daily attacking them. They describe themselves as "good citizens of France" and appeal to Cruzat as the ally of that power to send them ammunition and merchandise to subsidize the Indians. The petition is signed by twenty-eight prominent French habitants, some of whom had aided Clark in 1778–79. Cruzat replied Dec. 15, 1780, expressing much sympathy for their grievous situation, but assuring them that he considers them subjects of the United States by right of conquest, and that they must apply to their superiors at the Illinois, with whom he will gladly work in concert for their preservation and aid. The original MS. of this petition and the reply are in the Bancroft collection, University of California. A facsimile has kindly been furnished us by Prof. C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois.—Ed.

John Dodge was a native of Connecticut (about 1749) and came West as a trader in 1770, settling at the Wyandot villages near Sandusky, where he acquired much influence over the tribesmen. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he sympathized with the States, and was influential in securing Indian neutrality, attending by request the Pittsburgh treaty of 1775. Early in 1776 he was arrested by order of Governor Hamilton, kept prisoner at Detroit, and finally sent down to Quebec. Thence he escaped in 1778, and upon visiting Congress secured therefrom a grant of land in requital of his losses. He also called on Jefferson, and secured the appointment of Indian agent for the Illinois. Once returned to the Western country he carried out his measures in an arbitrary manner; finally (1782) seizing and holding the fort that dominated Kaskaskia. In 1787, finding his influence waning, he retired to Ste. Geneviève, on the Spanish side of the river, where in 1794 he died. He was an uncle of Gov. Henry Dodge of Wisconsin Territory.—Ed.

Grace shall, on your part, advise me of the results at the first opportunity.

Although Your Grace is under the necessity of applying to the department of the friendship of the Indians, some part of the ammunition destined for service and defense of those settlements, Your Grace shall send a report stating clearly each thing; that is to say, that Your Grace must submit a certification of what was used in presents for the Indians and in addition what was used in the defense of the posts, in which particular Your Grace shall be especially careful.

NUEVA ORLEANS, February 15, 1781.

Don Francisco Cruzat.

1782: EXPEDITION AGAINST ST. JOSEPHS

[Letter from José de Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, dated Jan. 15, 1782. Source, same as preceding document.]

The King has received with the utmost satisfaction and gratification the information contained in the letter of Your Excellency of the 26th of last October, No. 28, in which referring to another letter written by the commandant of Ylinoeses to the Governor *ad interim* of Luisiana he reports the profitable conquest of the post of San Josef, two hundred and thirty leagues from San Luis, which was occupied by the English.[40] The

[40] The Spanish account of this expedition was published in the Madrid *Gazette* for March 12, 1782, a translation being sent by John Jay, the United States envoy at Madrid, to the authorities in America; see Jared Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence* (Boston, 1830), viii, pp. 76, 77. The English accounts are published in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 453-455, xix, pp. 600, 638; the American in *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 620, and *Va. State Papers*, i, p. 465. The Spanish authorities appeared inclined to vaunt the expedition as exclusively of their initiative; while the Americans regarded it as an act of revenge, prompted by local spirit, for the defeat of the Cahokians connected with De la Balme's expedition; the British seem to have considered it a mere plundering excursion. See Alvord, "Conquest of St. Joseph," in *Missouri Historical Review*,

King applauded the courage and prudent conduct of the captain of militia, Don Eugenio Pirre, commandant of the detachment which formed the attack; of the sub-lieutenant of the same, Don Carlos Tayon;[41] and of the interpreter, Don Luis Chavalier, em-

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April, 1908. That the Spanish made use of this incident to claim title to territory east of the Mississippi, and north of the Ohio, would seem evident from the correspondence of Jay, in Sparks, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–153. But that the expedition was planned at Madrid, as suggested by E. G. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 293–311, seems improbable. The facts appear to be that the Illinois habitants at Cahokia and St. Louis, hearing of the condition of St. Josephs, and of the defection of the Potawatomi Indians, planned the expedition partly for revenge, partly for plunder; while the lately-arrived Spanish governor, Francisco Cruzat, saw in this project a chance to emulate the success of his superior, Galvez, at New Orleans, in capturing British posts. Cruzat was planning some kind of retaliatory act upon the British, as appears by his letter of Dec. 19, *ante*, p. 414. He sent a detail of his militia upon the expedition, and upon the successful termination of the raid claimed credit therefor for his country and his officers. Having come to the notice of the Spanish authorities, this incident was utilized by them in the subsequent peace negotiations. That the expedition was a mere raid, is evidenced by the fact that no attempt was made to hold the post, for the victors remained there but one day. It is interesting to note that the Milwaukee Potawatomi joined in this foray.—Ed.

[41] Eugène Pourée *dit* Beausoleil came to St. Louis soon after its establishment, his name first appearing on a document in 1767. He was a prominent merchant, and exported goods from New Orleans; see "The case of Pourée against Chouteau," in *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, ii, No. 6, pp. 68–81. He was a captain of militia under Cruzat, and died in 1783, leaving no children. He is said to have been the hero of an exploit with Mississippi River pirates. His name is mentioned in connection with this expedition in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 600, where it is curiously misprinted Bean Solid (Beau Soliel).

Charles Tayon (Taillon) was the son of Joseph Michel *dit* Taillon, who came from Canada to Illinois, and was at Fort Chartres in 1748. In 1764 he removed to St. Louis, his son Charles being at that time five years of age. The latter married in 1780 Cécile Deschamps. The younger Tayon was prominent in the affairs of Spanish Illinois, and at one time served as commandant for St. Charles. When Lewis and Clark went up the Missouri in 1804, they dined with this officer at St. Charles.—Ed.

ployed in the expedition;[42] and as a proof of his satisfaction with their service he has deigned to confer upon the first the rank of lieutenant in the army on half pay, and on the second that of sub-lieutenant on half pay, and to command that Your Excellency shall assign to the third such a gratification as shall appear appropriate.

God grant Your Excellency many years.

GALVEZ.

EL PARDO, January 15, 1782.

Sr. Dn. Bernardo de Galvez.

1782: LAND-GRANT AT MACKINAC

[Land-grant from Lieut.-Gov. Sinclair to Pierre Grignon, dated Aug. 10, 1782. Original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

This Grant is ceded to Pierre Grignon[43] his Heirs Executors Administrators or Assigns for a Space of Land seventy feet front & running to Northward one hundred and thirty feet, bounded

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[42] Probably the son of Louis Chevalier, mentioned *ante*, p. 372, note 1. The son was in Montreal in 1778 (see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, ix, p. 354), and in 1780 was enrolled in the militia company of St. Louis as "Luis Chevalier, native of Canada, aged 32." It was probably due to Chevalier's influence that the Potawatomi Indians permitted the expedition to pass. There may have been a desire for private revenge animating the Chevaliers, for they had become suspects to the Canadian authorities, and the father was shortly before this a prisoner at Montreal; see *Id.*, x, pp. 438–440. He was still in Montreal in 1782, and the son appears to have been in partnership with Mailhet in 1787.—ED.

[43] Comparatively little is known of Pierre Grignon, Senior, son-in-law of Charles Langlade. According to Tanguay he was born at Deschambault, Nov. 16, 1740. His son related that the senior Pierre came to the upper country as a voyageur during the French regime, being first employed on Lake Superior; that he settled at Green Bay before 1763, and there lived with a Menominee woman by whom he had three children. In 1776 he married Louise Domitilde Langlade, in the common-law fashion of the country, but the union was solemnized by the church

on the Eastward by the Lot ceded to Charles Langlade, & on the Westward by a Street leading from the Water Side, situated on the Island of Michilimakinac[44] on the North side of the Village with the following limited Right & Title viz That the said Pierre Grignon is to have hold & possess with full & free powers to convey sell or dispose of said Lands without fees or Burthens whatsoever (excepting the registering of the Deed in the office of the Notary Publick) during the Pleasure of his Majesty, or of the Governor & Commander in Chief of the province of Quebec; And He the said Pierre Grignon by these presents stands and shall stand absolutely lawfully and solely seized *of* & *in* the said Land & Lot w^t^. the premisses thereon, with the Appurtenances of a good sure lawful absolute and indefeasible Estate having in himself true Rightfull power & absolute authority to settle & assure the same & every part & parcel of the same Lot & premisses to Him his Heirs Executors Administrators & Assigns under the Limitations aforesaid. And for the Security of the said Pierre Grignon proprietor of the above limited and rented Land and premisses this Conveyance

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at Mackinac, in 1787. The elder Grignon does not appear to have been concerned in military affairs. He was a considerable trader, having large invoices at Green Bay, where he had a home; but he sent his children to Montreal for their education. His death occurred in November, 1795.—Ed.

[44] Until the administration of Sinclair, the British fort at Mackinac was located upon the south shore of the strait, not far from the present Mackinaw City. Upon Sinclair's arrival, he saw at once the strategic value of the island of Mackinac (where in 1670 the Jesuits had first established their mission of St. Ignace, soon thereafter removed to Point St. Ignace, on the mainland to the north), and in 1780 began the removal of the fort and village to that place. The fort was building throughout 1780 and 1781—the garrison appears to have removed in October of the latter year. Sinclair formally purchased the island from the Chippewa; see the deed thereto, in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 633. This purchase later gave rise to the erroneous belief that Sinclair had purchased the Indian title to the present state of Wisconsin, as far as Prairie du Chien. For sketch of the fort of 1781, see *Id.*, x, p. 641.—Ed.

is granted on the tenth day of August in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty two & twenty second of his Majesty's reign in presence of the following Witness John Coates to which I have put my Hand & Seal of the post.

PATT SINCLAIR.

Witness JOHN COATES [45] L^t. Govr.

Registred by me John Coates Not. Public.

1784: INDIAN DISCONTENT AT MACKINAC

[Letter from Capt. Alexander McKee to Sir John Johnson,[46] dated June 2, 1784. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 229.]

DEAR SIR—An Express arrived late last night in five days from Michilimackinac; brings an account that some hostile In-

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[45] John Coates was a resident of Old Mackinac, and removed to the island with the British garrison. In 1780 he was appointed commissary, and clerk to the Indian department. He was later notary public for the island settlement. See Mackinac Register, *post*.—ED.

[46] Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania, who after some experience in Indian trade was appointed deputy agent (1772) by Sir William Johnson. His sympathies were with the Loyalists at the outbreak of the Revolution, which led to his being arrested at Fort Pitt and placed upon parole. In March, 1778, he escaped to the British at Detroit, where he was made captain in the Indian department and deputy-agent. He was the leader of several forays against the American frontier, and after the Revolution was accused by Americans of inciting the tribesmen to war on the border whites. He had a large trading-house on the Maumee, and received native refugees from the battle of Fallen Timbers (1794). After the surrender of Detroit to the Americans (1796), McKee, who had now become colonel, removed to Malden, Ont., where he died Jan. 14, 1799.

Sir John Johnson was born in New York in 1742. Upon the death of his father, Sir William, he succeeded to his estate, but not to his official position. Sir John early joined the Loyalists in the American Revolution, was with St. Leger in 1778, and two years later twice raided the Mohawk valley. At the close of the Revolution he became superintendent of Indian affairs for British North America. He died at Montreal in 1837.—ED.

tentions of the Indians there against that Post has been communicated to the Commanding officer.[47] I have had people constantly amongst the Indians to the Southward during the Spring and winter, some of whom arrived within this few days intimate an appearance of some uneasiness & frequent councilling amongst themselves which I attributed might be owing to the intrigues of the numerous persons now amongst them disaffected to us, and inclinable to prejudice them to His Majesty's interest. A deputation of the Shawanese lately passed into the Potawatomie's country informed me their business was to renew the Friendship subsisting between them & the Lake Indians formerly but I have employed proper people to watch them and find out what may be their real business or if anything farther should pass between them. I am informed also that numbers of the Delawares are about leaving this Country to settle on the Spanish side of the Mississippi.[48] I am in hopes we shall be always able to discover in time their General Designs (should there be any against us) in time to prevent its effects.

I have the honor to be with Respect Dr Sir Yours &cc

A. McKee.

1784: A TRADER'S NOTE.

[Translation of letter from George Cown to his brother. MS. in Chicago Historical Society, O. L. Schmidt Collection, No. 317.]

Michillimakinac July 15, 1784.

Dear Brother—The present is to inform you that the state of My health is good, Praise to God. I Hope that This will

[47] See further account of this Ottawa plot in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 413–415.—Ed.

[48] This was the beginning of the migration which culminated in 1787, when 1200 Shawnee and 600 Delawares crossed the Mississippi and settled upon lands granted them by the Spanish authorities in Cape Girardeau and Ste. Geneviève counties.—Ed.

find you in a Like Condition. I have heard it said that you Wish to Ascend in order to Go to Matchidatch[49] To winter. But I inform you [MS. torn] that there is Nothing to do there. For there are always too many Merchants for The Post, two or three who go there from here and as many more from Montreal, & you can See by That that there is No Great Thing to do there. I Advise you likewise Not to allow yourself to be Inveigled By Mr. Thiery nor Defont; For Be Persuaded that they do Not Seek your Good; but will do Their Best to cause you to Perish. If you have a Desire to Come up By [MS. torn] let me Know For our [MS. torn] For That; also As Abraham & Jean who Will be delighted to See you. My compliments to your wife & Those who inquire for me, Without forgetting Gautier Rabott.

I Am Dear brother, Awaiting news from you, your brother

GEO. COWN.

1784: NEWS FROM MACKINAC

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Robertson to Col. Daniel Claus.[50] Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 435.]

MICHILIMACKINAC, 22nd July, 1784.

SIR—The Bearer Mr. Calvé arrived here a Week ago. I hope it has answered the intended purpose, in sending him among the Indians, he has had some disagreement with a Mr.

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[49] For the location of Matchedash Bay, and the portage thence, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 313, note 2.—ED.

[50] Capt. Daniel Robertson entered the army as surgeon's mate in 1754; two years later he became ensign, and served in America, reaching the rank of lieutenant in April, 1762. The following year, upon the reduction of the army, Robertson was dismissed from the service, and settled in Montreal, where at the outbreak of the American Revolution he was a major of local militia. He again entered the army June 17, 1775, as captain of the 84th, was captured at St. John's, and held prisoner fourteen months. Upon his release and exchange he joined his regiment in Canada, and was stationed at a post on the St.

Aird[51] now at Montreal, from what I have heard this same Aird is a very improper Person to be in this Country, however Calvé will tell you the story himself.

The Indians are pretty quiet considering that I have nothing for them. I would have wrote to Sir John Johnson was I not told he was going to England.

I have the Honor to be with great regard Sir Your most obedt. huml. Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

Col. Claus.

[Letter from Capt. Daniel Robertson to General Haldimand. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 442.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 5th Aug. 1784.

SIR—Your Excellency's Letter of the 14th of June last, I had the Honor to receive on the 3d instant, and the Detachment of

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Lawrence until 1782, when he was sent (Sept. 20) to relieve Sinclair at Mackinac. His regiment was reduced the following year, but Robertson being appointed lieutenant-governor remained at Mackinac until his death by accident, May 10, 1787. Many romantic legends have attached themselves to his demise, and the reputed place of his drowning on the island is still called "Robertson's Folly." He appears to have been an efficient officer and popular with the Indians.

For Daniel Claus, see *ante*, p. 256, note 52.—ED.

[51] Calvé had been sent to notify the Mississippi tribes of the formal ratification of peace between Great Britain and the United States; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 687, and *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 124.

James Aird was a prominent Scotch trader who arrived at Mackinac as early as 1779. He later had an extensive trade, and achieved large influence with the Western Indians. He removed to Prairie du Chien somewhere about the close of the eighteenth century, and was met by Pike on the latter's Mississippi voyage of 1805; he was by that explorer highly commended. Lewis and Clark met Aird on the Missouri in 1806, as did also Bradbury in 1810. In the War of 1812–15, Aird was pro-British, and an efficient aid to Dickson. Later, he became connected with the American Fur Company, and died at Prairie du Chien Feb. 27, 1819. Consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, x, *passim*. Two of Aird's brothers, Robert and George, were likewise traders in the upper country.—ED.

the 34th Regiment as therein mentioned arrived here the 4th instant—with the order of Relief and accordingly the Detachment of the 8th Regiment Embark to-morrow on board the Dunmore and Felicity for Detroit.

From my knowledge of Indians, the Traders & Commerce of this Country, with the situation of things at present, I humbly beg leave to represent to Your Excellency that this small Garrison is by no means adequate to a Post in those Parts—and very alarming to the well affected Traders who have some Property in hand, not less than four Thousand Packs from this Post and Dependencies, to Canada, this year and great outfits are made and now making for next year.

Since the report of the Ottawas intention against this Post, well founded, the Inhabitants have mounted a Guard of Twenty men every night by my desire, and very cheerfully will continue so doing while there are a number of them sufficient for that purpose in the Traders' Village.

I have sent a Carefull man to Tessalon[52] with three Canadians to take charge of the effects there untill Your Excellency's Intentions be made known.

A Mr. Grant, a Loyalist just arrived from taking a view of Tessalon and tells me that the Soil &c are very excellent and that he can procure Three Family's, with encouragement from Government to settle there.

Your Excellency's most obedt. most humble Servt.

DANL. ROBERTSON.

His Excellency General Haldimand.

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[52] When it was known at Mackinac that by the terms of the treaty of peace Mackinac Island would become American territory, Captain Robertson planned to remove the post to British territory, and chose the mouth of Thessalon River on the north shore of Georgian Bay. Here he had begun work for a fort, when ordered by Haldimand to desist, as there was no immediate prospect of surrendering the post at Mackinac. See *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 373, for map.—ED.

1786: MACKINAC COMPANY IN THE ILLINOIS

[Letter from John Edgar to Gen. George Rogers Clark, dated Oct. 23, 1786. MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library, Draper MSS., 53J55.]

SIR—I Rec^d. yours by Express of the Eighteenth Instant and Observe the Contents of your Letter and am very happy to find that you put Confidence in me. There is nothing that I would not do to Serve General Clark, & my Country.

And you may Depend on me that I will Execute your Order or any other Orders, that you may think proper to enfaire on me, to the last tittle that is in my power. the inhabitants of these Villages is very much disaffected to the United States, owing much to the Michilamackinac Company, which holds a large Trading House at Cahokia for the suply of the Savages.[53]

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[53] The origin of the Mackinac Company is obscure. In 1779 the majority of the merchants trading at Mackinac formed themselves into a "General Store" to protect their goods and traders from the ravages of the Indians who had gone over to the Americans; but this association only lasted a year (until July 31, 1780)—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, x, pp. 305, 367, 499, 600, and *Canadian Archives*, 1888, p. 61. Before the treaty of Paris had been formally signed, Mackinac merchants had established themselves at Cahokia, with a view to the Missouri River trade, and to dealings with the merchants of Spanish Louisiana; see narrative of J. B. Perrault in H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1853), iii, pp. 353-356. The company seems to have been formed about 1784, contemporaneously with the North West Company, and appears also to have been composed of much the same mercantile firms; although some members of the Mackinac Company, such as James Aird, Charles Patterson, and Robert Dickson were not members of the North West. The Mackinac Company operated almost entirely in American territory, from Cahokia on the south to the sources of the Mississippi on the north; and by means of St. Peters River did a considerable business in Spanish Louisiana, reaching out toward the farther Sioux branches—Yankton and Teton. They operated through all of Wisconsin, northern Illinois, Iowa, and most of Minnesota. After the Americans took possession of Mackinac, the company continued to operate, having rights under the clause of Jay's treaty protecting the British fur-trade. The British post was on the island of St. Joseph's, but most of the merchants still maintained some kind of establishment on Mackinac Island. After the Louisiana pur-

If any thing tourn up in the Illenois of Consequance I shall Immediatly give you Intellegance by Express.

I am Sir your most Obed^{t}. & Humble Servt.

JOHN EDGAR[54]

N. B. This Country is totally lost if we have not Government established here soon &^{c} &^{c} I was oblig^{d}. to give St Ange a horse as the one he brought give out.

KASKASKIES 23d. Oct. 1786.

George R. Clark Esqr. Post Vincent

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chase, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike was sent up the Mississippi to warn British traders from the west side of the Mississippi; not being included in the treaty of 1794, the Americans claimed that the British had no right to enter here. He found several trading-houses, flying British flags, which were ordered to be taken down. With the growing irritation between the United States and Great Britain, the situation of British traders on American territory became more and more difficult. In 1807 a convoy of the Mackinac Company was fired upon on Lake Ontario; see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxv, pp. 250–258. The following year, John Jacob Astor, an American citizen, organized the American Fur Company, and three years later bought out the interests of the Mackinac Company, consolidating it with his own, and forming the South West Company. He is said to have accorded one-third of the stock of the new company to four Prairie du Chien traders, Robert Dickson, Joseph Rolette, Murdoch Cameron, and James Fraser, formerly of the Mackinac Company. The War of 1812–15 suspended the operations of the South West Company, which in 1816 was reorganized as the American Fur Company, and began its later and better known career. Many of its chief traders and clerks were, however, former British subjects who had learned the business with the North West and Mackinac companies. The store at Cahokia was probably abandoned when St. Clair organized the Illinois country as part of Northwest Territory (1790).—ED.

[54] John Edgar was a Scotch-Irishman, who having had some seafaring experience was chosen to command a British vessel on the Great Lakes (1772–75). In the latter year, he established himself in business at Detroit. Secretly sympathizing with the Americans, he aided many prisoners to escape, and obtained valuable data for the American authorities. He was arrested therefor (Aug. 24, 1779), and sent as prisoner to Montreal, whence he managed to escape (1781), and brought useful information to Washington and Congress. Joining the

1792: ENGLISH TRADERS IN UPPER LOUISIANA

[Letter from Las Casas, governor of Havana, to Baron de Carondelet,[55] dated Feb. 17, 1792. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Your Lordship's predecessor, in letter no. 185, sent me a copy of another letter of the Lieutenant-Governor of Yllinois Don Manuel Perez,[56] in which the latter informed him of the entrance of the English into the Missouris River, and proposed as the only remedy the construction of two strong posts on the Moins and San Pedro Rivers.[57]

Since said report does not contain sufficient information con-

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American navy, he was captain therein until the close of the Revolution. In 1784 he returned to the Western country and established himself at Kaskaskia. There he soon became the leading citizen, justice of the court of common-pleas, militia officer, and a man of broad hospitality and influence. In 1798 Congress voted him 2240 acres of land as indemnity for his losses in the Revolution. In 1799 he was a member of the territorial legislature. In 1825 he entertained Lafayette at his home in Kaskaskia, where he finally died (Dec. 19, 1830). The present letter was written in response to Clark's request, on his return from the Miami expedition, that the Illinois merchants should sustain the garrison established at Vincennes. It is interesting to note, apropos of Edgar's reported disaffection of the Cahokian inhabitants to the United States, that Jean Baptiste Perrault claimed that Cahokia was on British territory (*op. cit.* in note 53, *ante*).—Ed.

[55] Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, was a native of Flanders (1747) and had been governor of San Salvador in Guatemala. In 1791 he was appointed governor of Louisiana, arriving at his post Jan. 1, 1792. Carondelet was a man of much ability and activity, and during a very trying period of intrigue and rumors of war he maintained his post and promoted Spanish interests. He was relieved in 1797, and promoted to be viceroy of Peru, dying in 1807.—Ed.

[56] Capt. Manuel Perez was an officer in the Louisiana regiment, being appointed lieutenant-governor of Illinois (Nov. 27, 1787) to succeed Cruzat. This office was held four years and eight months, when Perez returned to New Orleans and was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of his regiment.—Ed.

[57] The Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers. For the English trade therein, see note 53, *ante*.—Ed.

cerning the causes and fundamental reasons for such an establishment for one who does not possess the necessary local knowledge of certain territories of which no map exists in the secretary's office of this captaincy-general; nor any public facts of any accuracy and exactness in order to form a judgment: your Lordship will continue to obtain all the fitting information for explaining to me what you believe advisable, and will, in the meantime, take for yourself whatever measures are urgent.

May God preserve your Lordship many years.

LUIS DE LAS CASAS

HAVANA, February 17, 1792.
Baron de Carondelet.

1794: MACKINAC INDIANS OPPOSE WAYNE

[Extract from letter from Guillaume la Mothe to Joseph Chew,[58] dated Michilimackinac, July 19, 1794. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, p. 365.]

All our warriors arrived yesterday with very litttle success, they have lost Twenty-five people amongst different Nations, the Americans on their side have lost thirty, and amongst them

[58] Guillaume la Mothe was a French-Canadian, born probably in 1744. In 1767 he was a trader in the Detroit district. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he was in New England, and brought information to the British at Quebec. Soon thereafter he was once more in Detroit, whence he went out on a scout with an Indian party in 1777. Elected captain of a company of habitant volunteers, he accompanied Hamilton on his Vincennes expedition, being there captured (1779) and kept in close confinement until exchanged in 1781. A broadside (printed at Williamsburg, Va.) in the Draper MSS. (pressmark, 49J154), prints the report of the council of war held by Clark and his officers June 16, 1779, where it was voted, as retaliation for the ill treatment of American prisoners by the British, that Henry Hamilton, Philip Dejean, and William Lamothe "be put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded all converse except with their keeper." In 1782, La Mothe was sent back to Detroit, with recommendations to the lieutenant-governor. He

were two prisoners which we received yesterday. The action was near Fort Recovery from which the Cannon & Shells were very much against the Indians.

Captain Doyle[59] desires his compliments to you and requests of you to send twelve Medals & twelve Flags to this place, the small medals you sent before the Indians will not accept of them.

There is likewise at Chikagoe Fifty Indians died of the Small Pox which alarms the Indians much in this Post.

[Letter from Capt. William Doyle to Charles Langlade. Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MICHILIMACKINAC July 26th, 1794.

SIR—I have Received Your Letter dated the 23rd of June and Note with pleasure The Good Dispositions You seem to Manifest for Serving the Government. I have just Written to Colonel England commanding His Majesty's troops at Detroit[60]

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finally secured (1792) the appointment of interpreter at Mackinac. There he remained until the evacuation of this post by the British (1796), when he removed to St. Joseph's Island, and there died in 1799.

Joseph Chew was secretary for the Department of Indian Affairs at Montreal.—ED.

[59] Capt. William Doyle joined the 24th foot as ensign in 1774. Two years later he became lieutenant, and served in that capacity until 1787, when he became captain. In 1792 he relieved Capt. Edward Charleton of the command at Mackinac, and was the last British commandant of that post, which he evacuated in August, 1796; he had meanwhile been promoted (May 6, 1795) to a majority. He continued with the regiment until 1804, having attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel.—ED.

[60] Richard England was an Irishman by birth, who enlisted in the army (1766) as ensign of the 47th infantry. He was promoted through the grades until he became major of the regiment in 1781, acting likewise as deputy quartermaster-general. In 1783 he was transferred to the 24th regiment as lieutenant-colonel, coming to command at Detroit in 1792. He was the last British commandant of that place, retiring with the surrender to the Americans (July, 1796). After returning to England he was made major-general (1796), and colonel of

and have Told him Your attachment to the service and I have no Doubt that you will not be forgotten if the Government needs Good Men.

I am Much pleased to learn that peace is restored Between The folles and The puants which cannot but be Most advantageous for The trade Of this part of the country.

Our Court Oreilles and Sauteux Warriors have returned to this post after assisting in The Defeat Of an American party of two Hundred men as they came out of fort recouvery whither they had conveyed provisions. Several prisoners were taken together with three hundred and twenty-five horses and thirty Oxen. The loss of our warriors Was twenty-five persons Among all The Nations who Numbered fifteen Hundred. But three-fourths of them arrived after The action and attacked The fort when they lost a portion of The number Of twenty-five already mentioned.[61]

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the 5th foot (1800). For a time he was governor of Plymouth, and after attaining the grade of lieutenant-general died Nov. 7, 1812. Colonel England was a man of gigantic stature, being six and a half feet in height. It is reported that the Prince of Wales asked his name, and on being told exclaimed, "England! He should be named Great Britain, at least!" He appears to have been a popular commandant at Detroit.—Ed.

[61] The action here so well described was that known as the attack on Fort Recovery, an advance post built by Wayne (in the summer of 1794) on the site of St. Clair's defeat in Mercer County, Ohio. On the morning of June 30, a large body of Indians rushed upon a detachment of ninety riflemen and sixty rangers commanded by Maj. William McMahon, who were returning to Wayne's army after having escorted a pack-train of provisions to Fort Recovery. After losing many officers and men, the detachment found refuge within the fort, which was gallantly defended by a garrison of about two hundred, under command of Capt. Alexander Gibson. The object of the attack was undoubtedly to take the fort, and the Indians were supposed to be planning to discover and use St. Clair's cannon, that had been abandoned in 1791. These pieces had, however, been recovered by Wayne; and Fort Recovery proved impervious to the musketry attack, which was continued during the greater part of two days. This document shows that the repulse at Fort Recovery discouraged the northern auxiliaries, who took no part in the battle of Fallen Timbers.—Ed.

The Warriors of this post were too precipitate in Their Return. This has Not pleased Their brothers, the Chauounons [Shawnee], Loup [Delawares], and Mis [Miamis], who had asked them to remain and help them to repel The americans who are to advance toward La Glaize where a portion of the Nations are Still assembled.[62]

Mr Le Claire has just arrived from St Joseph[63] and he tells me that all The poux of the Neighborhood Had started Ten Days before for la Glaize where the other nations had asked them to go.

There is every appearance that I shall receive News of an-

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[62] The river now called Au Glaize was so named from the clay at its mouth, where in early days there was a large buffalo wallow. The stream enters the Maumee from the south, and was an important pathway to the Miami rivers. A number of Indian villages lay along its banks, and a large British trading house was at its mouth; Blue Jacket's Shawnee village lay a mile below that. Wayne and his army arrived at the mouth of the Au Glaize August 8, 1794, and immediately began the erection of a fort, to which Wayne gave the name of Defiance. Traces of this fortification could be seen as late as 1846. In the second war with Great Britain a stockade was built near the site of Fort Defiance, known as Fort Winchester, from the then leader of the army.—Ed.

[63] Probably Antoine le Clair, a native of Montreal, who first located as a trader at Parc Vache (Cowpens), near Terre Coupée in southwestern Michigan, also near the site of St. Josephs fort. He was a blacksmith, but more occupied with Indian trade than at his forge. He married into the Potawatomi tribe, and in 1800 located at Milwaukee, where he remained until 1809, removing therefrom to Peoria, Illinois. During the War of 1812–15, Le Clair was employed by the American authorities in scouting, and securing information from the Indians. In 1812 his was one of the families removed from Peoria by Captain Craig. He does not appear to have returned there but to have made his later home at Portage des Sioux, Mo. He accompanied Forsyth into the Indian country in 1817, and died about 1821; see interview with his son in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 238–242; also "Forsyth Papers," in the Wisconsin Historical Library. A son of the same name was founder of Davenport, Iowa.—Ed.

other Engagement before long[64] as I expect a king's barque to arrive at this post at any moment. I shall inform you of the same by the first suitable opportunity so that you may communicate it, with this news, to my Children The folles [Menominee].

I have The honor To be Sir, Your Servant

WILLIAM DOYLE,
Capt. Commanding.

Captain Langlade Captain of the Indian department at Labaie.

1796: GREEN BAY CHIEF DESIRES A MEDAL

[Letter from Joseph Chew to Thomas Aston Coffin. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xx, pp. 443, 444.]

MONTREAL 16h May 1796.

DEAR SIR—A few days ago I received a Message from Thomas a famous War Chief of the Follesavoine Nation[65] of Indians at La Ba on the Mississippi & requesting to have a Medal with

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[64] The next engagement was the battle of Fallen Timbers, Aug. 20, 1794.—ED.

[65] Thomas Carron, known usually as Tomah (English phonetics for the French Thomas), was the son of Vieux Carron, for whom see *anté*, p. 364, note 85. Born at the Menominee village near the site of Fort Howard (about 1752), his abilities and moderation were such that he acquired a commanding influence with his people. He told Pike (1806) that he had refused to go to war against the Americans during the Revolution, and he also refused to enter Indian campaigns against Americans in 1789–94, also during the conspiracy of Tecumseh in 1811. He did, however, at the bidding of the British traders and officers, take a prominent part in the War of 1812–15, accompanying the attacking force that captured Mackinac, being at the sieges of Forts Meigs and Sandusky, aiding in the repulse of Americans from Fort Mackinac (1814), and serving in the campaign for the capture of Fort McKay (Prairie du Chien). In 1817 he visited St. Louis, but remained a British Indian until his death at Mackinac, late in 1817 or the following year. Tomah was a tall, majestic-looking Indian, and by his contemporaries always mentioned with respect. The city of Tomah, Wis., was named for him.—ED.

His Majesty's Arms sent to him, and being well informed of His Friendship for the English & the Influence he has with his nation, and not having time to make the requisition, I send the Medal by a Gentleman who left this place today for La Ba, and now inclose a requisition and a copy of the Message to be delivered with the Medal which I hope His Lordship may not disapprove of.[66]

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Am Dr Sir Your most obedt. humble Servant

JOSEPH CHEW

Thos. Aston Coffin Esq.

1796: BRITISH REMOVE FROM MACKINAC

[Letter from Ensign Leonard Brown[67] to Col. Alexander McKee, dated Aug. 18, 1796. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 466.]

SIR—You being at the head of the Indian department I beg leave to inform you that the Island of St. Joseph[68] is at present entirely destitute of Indian stores. I am informed by Capt.

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[66] See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 101, for other news from Mackinac in this year.—ED.

[67] Ensign Leonard Brown was appointed to the Queen's Rangers Sept. 1, 1791. In the summer of 1796 he was sent with twelve men to garrison the new post begun on St. Joseph's Island. It was apprehended that his small garrison and the discontent of the Indians might place him in a dangerous situation; he was therefore reinforced in September by a detachment of Canadian volunteers. In December of this year Brown was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 4th infantry, a rank maintained until 1799, when his name disappears from the British army lists.—ED.

[68] When the news reached Mackinac of Jay's treaty with Great Britain, according to which the posts were to be delivered to the Americans on June 1, 1796, preparations were at once made by the commandant, Captain Doyle, to establish a post on St. Joseph's Island, within British lines, about forty miles to the northeast. June 14, 1796, Lieutenant Foster had been sent thither to begin the erection of a

Lamothe that a supply was wrote down for last fall for this Post, if it is arrived I should wish it to be forwarded with all Possible dispatch and supposing it is not arrived it will be absolutely necessary to send up a good assortment from the Store at Detroit as the Indians talk of payment in the fall which now draws near very fast.

Capt. Lamothe likewise informs me that the supply wrote for, is not more than adequate to the payment, & this Fall's Presents the quantity wrote for being only for fall & spring presents, at all events therefore it will be necessary to send up a small supply for Spring unless we intend to break entirely with the Indians which would not be exactly the thing at this critical juncture of affairs of which I think they are rather jealous.

I have the Honor to be Sir your very humble Servant

L. Brown,

Ensign Queen's Rangers Commanding at St. Josephs

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new fort. A small garrison from Niagara arrived in August, and the post was here maintained until the beginning of the War of 1812–15. For a view of the ruins of this post, see E. H. Capp, *Annals of Sault Sainte Marie* (Sault Ste. Marie, 1904), p. 173. Meanwhile Captain Doyle and his garrison withdrew from Mackinac, leaving only a non-commissioned officer with a few privates to protect the property until the arrival of American troops. The Americans took possession of Detroit (July 11, 1796), but owing to a scarcity of provisions were not able to advance to Mackinac until the following October. Secretary Winthrop Sargeant of the Northwest Territory seems to have gone to Mackinac in August; see *St. Clair Papers*, ii, pp. 405, 410. He was followed by two companies of United States troops, commanded by Maj. Henry Burbeck, who proceeded from Detroit and accepted the surrender of the last British post on American territory. Thus Wisconsin passed from British to American control.—Ed.

1796: SPANISH ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

[Extract from the secret orders given to Lieut.-Col. Carlos Howard,[69] dated New Orleans, Nov. 26, 1796. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; pressmark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

There are two essential objects which are to occupy the attention of Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howard, the defense of the town of San Luis, and the destruction of the English trade both on the upper Mississippi and on the Missouri. We have already treated of the former, and as far as concerns the latter, if immediately after having attended to providing his detachment with quarters, and received the necessary information, he should send an expedition to reconnoitre the banks of the Mississipi from San Luis to the mouth of the river San Pedro, it is likely that he would destroy and capture many English trading canoes, the goods in which may be divided, half to the king, and half to those who compose the expedition. But for the sake of protection against an attack by the savages on the side of

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[69] The occasion for issuing these orders and sending Colonel Howard to St. Louis was alarm over the reported gathering for an attack upon Louisiana by British forces, caused by the Spanish-British War, which was declared Oct. 7, 1796. France, who had previously been seeking to secure Louisiana either by force or diplomacy, had now become a Spanish ally; and had sent out Gen. Victor Collot to report on conditions in the Western country. His reports to the Spanish authorities alarmed the governor of New Orleans, who quickly dispatched a force to fortify St. Louis and guard the approaches on the upper Mississippi. In his report, Collot speaks of the former routes open to the English by the Fox-Wisconsin, Illinois, and Maumee-Wabash, as being blocked because of the surrender of the Northwest posts to the Americans. There was left the route via Lake Superior, Coppermine, Vermillion, and Chippewa rivers; or that from the west end of Lake Superior via River Froid (Cold) to the Mississippi; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, x, p. 574.

Carlos Howard, whom Carondelet chose from his available officers for this advance to St. Louis, was an Irishman in the Spanish service. In 1790 he was secretary of East Florida, being at this time lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Louisiana. He was in St. Louis from February to August, 1797; see *Missouri Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 71.—Ed.

[in alliance with] the English, it will be best to include in the expedition the gunboat with the galiots, since the heavy artillery on the former will alarm them and put them to flight.

In the year 1781 a small party of the inhabitants of San Luis with some savages made themselves masters of the post of San José, on the river of the same name which flows into Lake Michigan. That which they did then may be accomplished now with greater means and more complete knowledge. The militia captain, Don Carlos Tayon, who was in the expedition, is still alive, and I do not doubt that he can inform you of the means of capturing and destroying this post a second time.[70]

An expedition of the same force may be detached against any other post which the English have established to carry on their trade in furs on the nearer rivers. But providing the latest reports received by Governor Don Zenon Trudeau[71] confirm the news of the establishment of a fort by the English among the Mandana tribe you will arrange as secretly as possible, and taking advantage of all the knowledge which you can acquire from the traders who have gone as far as this tribe, an expedition sufficient to destroy the post,[72] for the command of His Majesty

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[70] See *ante*, pp. 430–432. There was no post on the St. Josephs at this time, a fact of which Carondelet was apparently in ignorance. William Burnett had a trading house at this place, but entirely under American jurisdiction; see Henry H. Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 62–64. Probably Carondelet confused the British post on St. Joseph's Island, in St. Mary's River, with the former British fort on St. Josephs River, in southwest Michigan.—Ed.

[71] Zenon Trudeau was of Canadian birth (1748), apparently the son of a merchant prominent in New Orleans during the last years of the French regime. In 1781 he married at New Orleans, and having entered the Spanish service was captain in the Louisiana regiment. In 1792 he was appointed governor of Upper Louisiana, which post he held until 1799. He died a few years later in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana.—Ed.

[72] The Mandan Indians were early visited by French explorers; see *ante*, p. 188, note 40. Just how early the English traders had reached this point from the north is not known. A Canadian, René Jessaume, claimed to have been in these villages as early as 1791. In 1793 the

upon this point is positive and admits of no neglect and no more delay than is necessary for the selection of the station most favorable to the success of the expedition.

It is very likely that the French will attack Canada by the San Lorenzo river, and will excite a rebellion in their favor that will certainly oblige the governor of Canada to devote all his attention and to take all his forces to Alto Canada. Lieutenant Colonel Don Carlos Howar[d] will try beforehand to obtain information as to the forces and the situation of the English posts, and as to the temper of the inhabitants, especially in Michelimakinak, in order, in the case supposed, to excite at the same time a revolution in Baxo Canada [73] in favor of France. This would entirely protect Alta Luisiana from the English during the war. Since the inhabitants of San Luis have had close connections with those of Michelimakinak, there will be no great difficulty in forming secret relations with the latter; and you may promise immediately to send arms and ammunition, and

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English had some sort of a wintering fort among them. The Missouri Company, formed of Spanish merchants, sent out an expedition in 1795 under the charge of one Mackay, who wintered with the Omaha; and the next spring dispatched a Welsh employee, Lewis Evans, to explore the upper Missouri and expel the British traders from those waters. Evans found an English fort on the Missouri, apparently below the Mandan villages; see his map in *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, viii, No. 2—a manuscript copy made by the American explorers, and frequently referred to by them in their outward course. Evans caused the English flag to be removed from this fort, and claimed to have driven off the intruding traders (unpublished manuscript from Archives of the Indies, Seville). In 1797, however, David Thompson, the English astronomer and explorer, was at the Mandan villages, but no English blockhouse appears to have again been erected in this region. See also L. R. Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), i, pp. 286, 294, 299–393. The success of Evans's voyage to the upper Missouri was not known in New Orleans when Carondelet issued these orders.—Ed.

[73] The Spanish terms "Alto Canada" and "Baxo Canada" are the reverse of those used by the French and English—"alto" (upper) meaning with them the St. Lawrence valley, and "baxo" (lower) the region about Mackinac.—Ed.

may even support them with the expedition in case as I have said the English governor withdraws his troops from Baxo Canada to oppose the French in Alto Canada.

The forces which may be employed, if any, in these expeditions referred to, must not exceed two hundred men divided between regular troops and militia. It is understood that of the first, that is, of the regular troops, no more than forty men are to be withdrawn, whose function will be particularly the serving of the artillery, provided there may be employed in the expedition some light pieces, the effect of which will be very useful with the savages. Of the militia as many as two hundred of the most loyal and courageous may be chosen for each expedition. They may be promised a part of the booty in case any of consequence is taken. The same promise may be made to volunteers who may be willing to serve on the expedition without pay. The others shall enjoy the accustomed pay as long as they may be employed, and shall receive a daily ration. If the complement of the regular regiment is made up, and if His Majesty determines that the body of the tribes in the province may be taken out of it, the garrison of San Luis will be reinforced to put it in a better condition to disturb the English and above all to destroy their trade to the north of the Misuri.

1797: ARRANGEMENTS FOR BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS

[Letter from James McGill to Herman Witsins Ryland. Reprinted from *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxv, pp. 137–139.]

MONTREAL, 7th February 1797.

SIR—On the 30th Ultimo I had the Honor of acknowledging receipt of Your Letter of the 26th. desiring by request of General Prescott[74] that I would give my opinion "Where it would

[74] Gen. Robert Prescott (1725–1816) entered the army in 1755, and through successive ranks rose to be general in 1798. He served under

be most convenient for the Commissioners on the part of His Majesty to meet those from the United States and the most convenient Route for carrying the Provision and Baggage requisite for that Service" (a survey to be made of certain parts of the River Mississippi) "from this Province to the Falls of St. Anthony with any other information which I or the gentlemen concerned in the North West Trade may Judge to be of importance on the above business" and I shall now endeavour to fulfill His Excellency's request.[75]

I conceive that the fittest Place for the Commissioners to meet will be at Michilimackinac and the properest conveyance for the Provisions and Baggage as well as themselves to be the Route of the Lakes.

At Michilimakinac they must be provided with one or more large Canoes and six stout Canoe men for each Canoe, as the number of Persons to be employed and quantity of Baggage necessary may require; and I should conceive that one Canoe for each Commissioner may be sufficient; a Canoe can carry conveniently eight Persons and two Tons or two and a half Tons weight throughout the proposed voyage but not more. Provisions for the Canoe men can be readily had at Michilimackinac and generally consist of Indian Corn boiled, Flour, Pork and

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Amherst and Wolfe, in the American Revolution, and in 1796 was chosen governor of Canada to succeed Dorchester, a position which he held for three years.—Ed.

[75] This request for information from the North West Company merchants was the result of a clause in the treaty of 1794, whereby a joint survey was to be made of the line of boundary specified in the treaty of 1783. This line was to strike due west from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi. It was already suspected that this was an impossible line, as explorers were discovering that the source of the Mississippi did not reach so far north as originally supposed. The survey here planned for, did not take place. In 1798 David Thompson of the North West Company made a survey proving that the source of the Mississippi was south of the line to be drawn. The matter was left in abeyance until after the treaty of Ghent (1814). This report of McGill contains, however, the best information to be had in 1797 of the region of the upper lakes and the Mississippi.—Ed.

Grease, but the Commissioners ought to be provided with other stores from Montreal where they can be put up in proper Packages for Canoes.

The fittest season to leave Michilimackinac would be as soon as the navigation is open, that is early in May, in order to attempt performing the service in one season, but as this would render it absolutely necessary for the Commissioners to pass the winter at that Post, it may be more proper to fix on the Summer, any time previous to the 15th September at the latest; and if they could leave it with the Traders who set out in July for the Falls of St. Anthony, or rather River St. Peters which is adjacent, they would have the benefit of their local knowledge and acquainance with the Indians who are on their Route or in the Country proposed to be surveyed.

In leaving Michilimackinac in July or even up to the 15th September there is sufficient time to get to the St. Anthony & higher up the Mississippi, which I conceive will be necessary as shall hereafter be shewn: The voyage from Michilimackinac to the Falls may readily be performed in six weeks, but from the Falls to that part of the Mississippi from whence I conceive a Line is to be drawn to Wood Lake I am of opinion that Four Weeks more will be fully employed, for the River then becomes Rapid and Shallow; and the distance is estimated to be 300 Leagues; now if the Line is to be drawn by actual survey, as by only ascertaining the Latitude and Longitude at different Points from the sources of the Mississippi to Wood Lake I doubt much whether in one season it could be effected, supposing the Commissioners to leave Michilimackinac in May, still less could they perform the service if the survey begins at or below the Falls. To me therefore it appears that the Commissioners must of necessity pass a Winter on the Mississippi, and the best place in my opinion will be as near as conveniently can be done to that part from which they are to run the Line to Wood Lake.

There must be two good Interpreters, one for the Scioux Language and another for the Chipăwă, both of them may be procured at Michilimackinac.

Suitable Presents of Indian Goods must be sent with the Commissioners and also goods to procure Provisions in the Fall and for the winter and to bring the party back which probably may require the addition of a third Canoe. The value of the Presents and Goods may be estimated at Five to Six hundred Pounds Currency for the Commissioners on the part of His Majesty. And as the Indians who inhabit the higher parts of the Mississippi are very hostile to one another frequently out in War Parties and do not then discriminate Friend from Foe; besides it being natural to suppose that they will see with Jealousy other People than their usual Traders among them and on a very different business, it may be necessary to send them Belts to acquaint them with the Business and to desire that they refrain from War whilst it is going on.

I shall now take a view of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its source as generally known to the Traders, the distance is estimated at 300 Leagues, which I am inclined to consider exaggerated, probably it may be 200 Leagues by Water. After leaving the Falls & proceeding upwards the first River you meet with which comes from the west and has the appearance of being a chief Branch of the Mississippi is called Crowwing River; in the Chippewa Tongue *Cocakiwing Scipi* and is computed to be 100 Leagues from the Falls. I was at this River in winter 1771–2, but I do not conceive the distance to be so great.

The next remarkable place is on the east side & the further Distance of 100 Leagues by similar computation and is called Sandy River which is the Route coming from the Southwest end, or Fond du Lac Superior to enter the Mississippi; proceeding upwards to the extent of 100 Leagues more by vulgar estimation many Rivulets are met with on both sides until you arrive at Lac de Sang Lue or Leech Lake which has always been considered the greatest source of the Mississippi; they say it is 10 Leagues Long and from 3 to 4 Broad.

Now the fittest place in my Judgment for passing the Winter is at the Crowwing River or some other place nearer to the Falls

of St. Anthony, because there is plenty of large game to be met with to supply the Party with Provisions during the Fall and through the Winter, an object of great moment, for were it necessary to carry Provisions for 12 or 15 months which may be the time necessary to compleat the Survey, three canoes would not be sufficient.

Along with the Party I would recommend a few Hunters to be got from among the Ottawas of Michilimackinac to accompany and reside with them, not only as a proper measure to guard against scarcity but as of use also to insure the good will of the Indians of the Country.

But as a previous and indispensable step I would advise that Belts be sent to the two great and Rival Nations the Scioux and Chippewas inviting them to Michilimackinac or St. Joseph's Island in the Spring of 1798 or in the Spring of the year when the Commissioners are to proceed, there to inform them of the intended Survey and of the Peace which now subsists between Us and the United States.

I have the honor to be Sir Y. M. O. & V. H. S.

JAMES MCGILL

Herman Witsins Ryland, Esqr.

1797: RAID ON THE MISSISSIPPI

[Extract from a letter of Thomas Duggan[76] to Joseph Chew, dated St. Joseph, July 9, 1797. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. xx, pp. 522, 523.]

Your apprehensions were very well grounded with respect to our Indian Friends not having a favorable opinion of us at the

[76] Thomas Duggan was storekeeper of Indian goods at Detroit, 1792-95. In the latter year he was sent in the same capacity to Mackinac; and after the British evacuation of that post removed to St. Joseph's Island, where he retained his official position until his death (Dec. 19, 1803).—ED.

time of Our Evacuating the Post of Michilimackinac, but that is now done away & they appear to be as much attached to us as ever, & I have the pleasure of informing you that the Indians since our coming to this Post have conducted themselves entirely to our satisfaction.

* * * * * * * *

I have not heard of any Ottawas being killed by the Sioux, but it is certain that forty-five Chippewas were killed by them at Lake Sable and were made Prisoners, five of the Sioux were killed. this spring our Traders in the Mississippi were nearly pillaged by the Saques & Renards headed by some Traders from St. Louis with authority from the Spanish Commandant of that place, fortunately for our Traders a party of Sioux were at La Prairie du Chien which overawed the other Indians and their property was saved.[77]

1797: AMERICANS VISIT NORTHWEST POSTS

[Extract from a letter of Guillaume La Mothe to Joseph Chew, dated St. Joseph, August 30th, 1797. Source, same as preceding document, but p. 530.]

We were visited the 24h of this month by General Wilkinson[78] who was up at the Rapids of St. Mary's & gave presents

[77] So far as known, no other account of this Spanish raid on Prairie du Chien has been preserved. It is worthy of note, however, that B. W. Brisbois, one of the early settlers of this Wisconsin town, protested to Dr. Draper that it was the Spanish not the Americans who were feared; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 289–291. This raid was no doubt sent out under the direction of Howard, who was in St. Louis during the summer of 1797, to guard against a British attack; see *ante*.—Ed.

[78] James Wilkinson was born in Maryland in 1757, and early in the Revolution entered the army, accompanied Arnold to Quebec, and served on the staff of Gates. Being concerned in the Conway Cabal, he was retired from service, and settled in Kentucky, where he carried on trade with New Orleans and became involved in Spanish in-

& Flags to the Indians there, he has also sent one of his officers to Lake Superior to do as he has done, on his arrival at Mackinac he assembled all the Nations & had a great council there, after which he gave out Flags & Presents, as soon as I hear the particulars of the council I will let you know by the first opportunity.[79]

1799: BRITISH PROTECTION AGAINST SPANISH

[Letter from Prideaux Selby[80] to Peter Russell. Source, same as preceding document, but vol. xxv, pp. 184–187.]

SANDWICH, 23rd January 1799.

SIR—The probability of an attack on this Province in the ensuing Spring as expressed in Your Honors several letters to the late Deputy Superintendent General[81] induced that respectable officer, ten or twelve days before his death to honor me with a communication of many important matters relative to the defence thereof; and I should ill disharge the Duty I owe to the public and my Country were I to conceal on the present alarming occasion the plans and observations which it was his inten-

trigues. In 1791 he was reinstated in the army, and the following year was brigadier-general. At the death of Wayne (1796), the supreme command of the army devolved upon him, and from 1797–98 he was at Detroit. In October of the latter year he removed to Fort Adams, on the Mississippi. Accused of connection with Burr's conspiracy, Wilkinson was tried by court-martial (1811) and acquitted. At the close of the War of 1812–15 he retired to Mexico, where he died in 1825.—ED.

[79] Wilkinson left Detroit August 3, 1797, and was absent on this tour of the northern posts just one month, arriving in Detroit Sept. 3.—ED.

[80] Prideaux Selby was assistant secretary of the Indian Department at Detroit from 1790 to the evacuation; he then removed to Sandwich, where he remained until his headquarters were removed (1807) to York. In 1812 he was a member of the council of Upper Canada.—ED.

[81] Col. Alexander McKee, for whom see *ante*, p. 434, note 46.—ED.

tion of submitting through Your Honor to His Excellency the Governor General, for the purpose of defeating any attempts which our Enemies might make on this part of the Country.

They were these

"That the Barrier which the United States presents is of so high a consideration unless the people of Kentucky and of the Ohio should join our Enemies or permit them to pass unmolested through their North Western Territory, little danger to this Province is to be apprehended by that Rout. But that the water communication by the Ouisconsin to Lake Michigan, (except an inconsiderable carrying place between that and Fox river) opens an easy passage for the introduction of Troops and all manner of stores either by the way of Chicago or Missilimackinac.

"That the rout by the Ilinois river tho' much nearer, does not afford such advantages for bringing forward supplies as the Ouisconsin, and altho' in the Spring of the Year, the waters are always high by the dissolving of the Snow and frequent rains at that season yet it is presumed the swelling of the Illinois may have subsided before an army could be in readiness to take the advantage of that circumstance and it must be observed also that there are many interruptions on this communication such as Rapids and Shallow waters. The Ouisconsin therefore appears their most [best] rout as it is the easiest and most secret as well from its distance from any body of Traders as from the little intercourse we have with the Indians inhabiting that part of the Country.

"In order therefore to meet every contingency the late deputy Superintendent General proposed to collect all the Indians in this part of the Country and a part of those about Missilimackanac and the Island of St. Joseph in this vicinity as early as possible in the Spring; and numerous small scouting parties from them as well as confidential messengers sent off to watch the motions of the Enemy in all directions; and to obtain by this means early intelligence of all their movements; this defensive force independent of regular Troops and Militia may on a

moderate computation be estimated at three thousand fighting men.

"The Sakies and Foxes on the Ouisconsin and Fox River were by all possible means & exertions to be induced to resist any attempt of the French, Spanish, or unfriendly Indians to pass through their Country, for which purpose a considerable present was to be sent to each of the Nations by three of their young men who winter here accompanied by two Confidential Messengers, one of whom was to bring back with him some of their principal chiefs to confirm the friendship which was entered into (or pretended to be so) last fall at Amherstburg, and who would be considered by their Nations as hostages for their fidelity to Great Britain;[82] for if these nations have been seduced by General Collot[83] or his agents it is not improbable that their late visit to this Country may be preparatory to their entering it in a hostile manner; the other Messenger to remain among these people to give the earliest information of the approach of an enemy in that quarter or of any suspicious movements of the Indians themselves.

"The late Colonel McKee had also turned his thoughts to the great public advantages, to be derived from the spontaneous

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[82] See an account of the embassy of these tribes and their leaving men to winter near Sandwich, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 105, 108.—Ed.

[83] Gen. George Victor Collot was born in 1751, and while still a young man joined the army, serving on Rochambeau's staff in the American Revolution. In 1793 he was appointed by the convention as governor of Guadeloupe, where after some difficulty he replaced a Royalist commandant. In April of the following year he surrendered the island to an English fleet, with the stipulation that he be allowed to retire to the United States. The French minister Adet commissioned Collot to make a tour of the Western country, to observe the temper of the inhabitants and the military situation. Leaving Philadelphia in March, 1796, he went down the Ohio, visiting Kentucky and St. Louis, and going down the Mississippi to New Orleans. He returned to Philadelphia in January, 1797. The results of his observations were embodied in a book published (1826) in Paris in French and English editions. The general himself died in Paris in 1805. For the underlying purposes of his journey, see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, x, p. 275.—Ed.

offer of service and the friendly intercourse he had the last two years with the Scioux, a nation unquestionably composing the best Indian Warriors in America, are all mounted and muster about 6,000 men; and his opinion was that the Government should avail itself of their services on this occasion and also of the services of our old friends and fellow soldiers the Folles-avoines or Monamanies who inhabit a large Tract of Country near the Prairie du Chene between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

"These nations with a few British officers among them were proposed to be sent down the Mississippi and to engage any Enemy they might meet; and if there should be no appearance of troops or hostile Indians they were to be directed to proceed as low down as possible and keep up a constant alarm to prevent the Spaniards, French, or Indians in their Interest from venturing to any distance from their own Settlements.

"In case the Enemy should advance through the American Territory unmolested or by any other rout the Indians (to be assembled in this neighborhood) were under proper officers to march and take some advantageous position on the Road and give them Battle before they made a near approach to this place and if unfortunately defeated they were to retreat to Amherstburg or wherever else directed to make a last effort in conjunction with the regular force of the Country."

These are the general outlines of the plan which the late Deputy Superintendent General designed to submit to the consideration of His Excellency the Commander in Chief and which I now beg leave to present to Your Honor.

I have the Honor to be Sir &c.

P. Selby.

His Honor Peter Russell, Esqr., &c. &c. &c.

1800: LANGLADE'S BUSINESS AFFAIRS

[Letter from Charles Langlade to Rocheblave and Porlier.[84] Translated from original MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library.]

MICHILIMACKINAC July 26th, 1800.

Messrs Rocheblave and Porlier.

GENTLEMEN—As in my power of Attorney of this date, I refer you to a notice for The Disposal of the [money] that may be Derived from the sale of my Lands, my intention is that you begin by keeping one hundred and twenty Livres for The costs that may be incurred here. After retaining that Sum, The first Debt to be paid Will be that due Mr Grayson for six Thousand one hundred and eighty-three Livres, Two sols; and,

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[84] The firm of Rocheblave and Porlier was formed about 1798, and dissolved in 1810. It was composed of Noel Rocheblave and Jacques Porlier. Of the former but little is known; he is supposed to have been a nephew of Philippe Rastel, Sieur de Rocheblave—for whom see *ante*, p. 214, note 70—and either cousin or brother of Pierre de Rocheblave of the North West Company.

Jacques Porlier was prominently connected with early Wisconsin history. Born at Montreal in 1765, he was educated for the priesthood, but preferred the more exciting life of the fur-trader. He was in Mackinac while quite young, and in 1791 permanently located at Green Bay where he was clerk and family tutor for Pierre Grignon. He spent the winter of 1792-93 in the wilderness, where he met Marguerite Grésie, whom he brought home as his bride. In 1797 he was trading for himself in northwest Wisconsin, and having formed a partnership with Rocheblave became a trader and outfitter at Green Bay. Porlier's educational advantages gave him a prominent place in the community west of Lake Michigan. In 1815 he was commissioned militia captain by the British, holding a similar office under the Americans, who in 1820 appointed him judge of Brown County court. Although unable to speak English, Porlier could read that language, and carefully translated into French the code then in vogue. In 1821 his trading operations were conducted under the firm name of Grignon, Lawe & Porlier, acting as agents for the American Fur Company. Porlier was much respected, and held office as judge until the organization of Wisconsin Territory (1836). He died at his Green Bay home, July 12, 1839. A large number of his papers were presented to the Wisconsin Historical Society by his son.—ED.

Mr. Knac Le 26e juillet 1800

Mrs. Rocheblave et Porlier

Messieurs

Comme dans ma Procuration de ce jour je vous
[illegible] pour la disposition de l'[illegible]
qui pourra Provenir de la vente de mes Terres,
mon intention est que vous commencier à
retenir cent vingt Livres pour les frais qui
pourront ce faire icy, après cette somme prise
La premiere Dette que sera payée sera Monsr.
Giasson pour six mille cent quatre vingt trois
Livres deux sols, et après les payements cy dessus
faits, a Mr. Frank pour trois cent quatre vingt
Livres, et a Mr. Bouthillier le montant de mon
Billet, et le reste s'il y en a vous ~~sera remis~~
restera en accompte

Je suis Messieurs

Votre très humble
Serviteur
Langlade Capitaine

Adhemar Stuartin
Témoin

LANGLADE'S LETTER TO ROCHEBLAVE AND PORLIER

Dated, July 26, 1800. Reduced facsimile of original

after the above payments are made, to Mr Frank three hundred and eighty Livres, and to Mr. Bouthillier[85] The amount of my Note. If there be any balance it will remain with you on account.

I remain, Gentlemen Your very humble servant,

LANGLADE, Captain.[86]

ADHEMAR ST. MARTIN, WITNESS.

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[85] Jacob Franks was an English Jew who came to the Northwest in 1794, acting as clerk at Green Bay for a Montreal house. In 1797 he commenced trading on his own account, and brought to Green Bay his nephew, John Lawe, who became one of the leading settlers of the Fox River community. Franks built the first mills in the neighborhood, and in the early years of the nineteenth century was in partnership with Robert Dickson and James Aird. He had had some connection with John Jacob Astor previous to 1811. In that year Astor implored him to keep the Indians at peace. At the beginning of the War of 1812–15, Franks determined to leave Lawe to care for his interests at Green Bay, and to return himself to Montreal, and take charge of the outfitting. In 1814, while bringing goods from Montreal, he was stopped by the news of the American invasion. Later he interceded with the American authorities at Detroit for a confirmation of lands and for licenses for the Green Bay traders. He himself never made Green Bay his home after the war, continuing at Montreal, where he died (apparently before 1823).

There resided at Montreal a family named Bouthillier, one of whose members married Pierre de Rocheblave. François Bouthillier was an early resident of Prairie du Chien. In 1819 he was in partnership with Joseph Rolette, and in the same year was commissioned associate judge of Crawford County. He had dealings with the lead mines as early as 1819, and finally (1832) removed to Fever (Galena) River, where he died a year or two later.—ED.

[86] This letter—so far as known to us, the only autograph of Charles Langlade—and the succeeding document clearly prove that he did not die as early as has been claimed; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 235, viii, p. 222.—ED.

1800: SPANIARDS FEAR AN ATTACK BY LANGLADE

[Letter from Marquis de Casa Calvo[87] to Count d'Urquijo, dated New Orleans, Oct. 19, 1800. MS. in Archives of the Indies, Seville; press-mark, "Papeles procedientes de la Isla de Cuba."]

Your Excellency—After having informed Your Excellency of occurrences to the 8th of the current month, yesterday I received a letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of the settlements of Ylinoa, Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet in the regular regiment of Luisiana.[88] He informs

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[87] Sebastian de Calvo de la Puerta y O'Farril, Marquis de Casa Calvo, was a Spaniard of a noble house, connected with O'Reilly, the first Spanish governor of Louisiana. With that official he came (1769) to New Orleans at the age of eighteen, as cadet. In 1793 he was in command in San Domingo, when that country was threatened by an insurrection. Upon the death of Gayoso de Lemos in 1799, Casa Calvo was sent from Cuba to act as military governor of Louisiana. In that capacity he ruled the province for eighteen months, to be in turn superseded by Salcedo. In 1803 Casa Calvo was made commissioner of the Spanish government to deliver the province to the French prefect. Arriving in New Orleans on March 7, it was not until Nov. 30 that arrangements were completed and the ceremony of Spanish abdication performed. Casa Calvo did not immediately leave New Orleans, even after the cession to the United States, but remained as commissioner of boundaries, taking a journey (1805) into Texas, and safe-guarding Spanish interests in West Florida. In February, 1806, the American Governor Claiborne sent him his passports, with a courteous request to leave New Orleans, whereupon Casa Calvo retired to Pensacola.—Ed.

[88] Carlos de Hault Delassus, son of Pierre Delassus de Luzière, was born near Lille in 1764. At the age of eighteen he entered the Spanish service and was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy for bravery in a battle of 1793. Member of the royal body-guard at Madrid, he had fine prospects of promotion, which he relinquished to come to America, whither his father's family, driven from France by the Revolution, had preceded him. In 1796 Carondelet appointed Delassus governor of New Madrid, whence three years later he was promoted to the governorship of Upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis. In 1802 he was made colonel in the Spanish army, and in February, 1804, surrendered the province to Capt. Amos Stoddard, representative of both France and the United States. Delassus remained at St. Louis until the

me in that letter, dated August 20, last, that he has had advices that the English of Canada are making efforts to get together an expedition with the various numerous Indian tribes of the upper Mississipi and attack our possessions under the direction of the famous interpreter and leader, Langlade, as captain.[89] The latter on May 26th, 1780, covered the invasion made by the Englishmen, Esse, against the said posts where a terrible massacre was made, although the English were driven out.

As soon as the American commandant of Peoria, Juan Miller,[90] repeated it to him [De Lassus] and confirmed the news by proving that he had kept back by presents of liquor the collars (girdles made by woven beads which serves as credentials to the Indian messengers in order to convoke the tribes when one attempts to declare war) which were passing among the Indians, [De Lassus] sent a cask of brandy to meet Miller's expense. By such presents, the Indians will continue to maintain good relations with us; if at the same time also the above-mentioned

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following October, materially aiding the new administration; he then joined his regiment in Pensacola, whence he was sent to command at Baton Rouge. Resigning from the army in 1810, he again lived in St. Louis (1816–27), and returned from there to New Orleans, where he died in 1843.—Ed.

[89] This news appears to have been founded on a rumor, which had no basis of fact. There is nothing in the British archives, as far as published, that would indicate such design; see, however, *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 24, 25; and *St. Clair Papers*, ii, 498, where it is stated that the British are at the bottom of the restlessness among the tribes, and inciting them to attack the Spanish. Delassus seems to have sent his brother, Jacques St. Vrain, then in command of the gunboats on the Mississippi, on a precautionary expedition towards Prairie du Chien; see Billon, *Annals of St. Louis*, pp. 365, 370.—Ed.

[90] Probably this was Jean du Moulin, who in 1800 was appointed commandant of the militia of St. Clair County; see *St. Clair Papers*, ii, p. 495. He was a native of Switzerland, who settled at Cahokia some time before 1787; see *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, ii, index. His residence was at Cahokia, but he seems to have had many relations with Peoria. A man of education, and of a commanding presence, he acted after 1790 as judge of the court of common pleas. He died at his residence near Falling Spring, in 1808.—Ed.

American commandant is requested to observe article 5 of the treaty of friendship and boundaries.

At the same time [De Lassus] learned that the English were about to hold a council with the Indian tribes at the Straits of the Lake of Santa Clara [St. Clair] and as the greater part of them inhabit American territory, he also wrote to the commandants of the posts of the United States, namely Vincennes,[91] Michilimakina, and others, despatching the letters by two faithful habitants with orders to ascertain at the same time and communicate whatever they can discover in regard to this matter. Each one of them was promised a pay of two hundred pesos and the storekeeper of those posts was ordered to provide victuals for two months for the number of six hundred men. De Lassus made ready artillery, arms, and ammunition, and advised the commandants of that jurisdiction to have their militia ready, for whom he sent guns, taking as many military dispositions as have appeared suitable for the defense of those remote countries.

The Lieutenant-Governor, Lassus, was very confident of obtaining the success of his preparations, their own defense and that of their possessions and families being an incentive to those habitants, which has made them show generally in the review the most ready and effective determination so that all the citizens of the capital city of San Luis, even those past sixty years have presented themselves with their carabines, thus giving a good example to the young men. It is believed that, if the crisis comes, the greatest difficulty will be to restrain these so that they may not exhibit too great rashness. The letter con-

[91] The colonel of militia at Vincennes (appointed by St. Clair in 1800) was Francis Vigo, a Sardinian, who after resigning from the Spanish army entered the fur-trade, with headquarters at St. Louis. There he came into relations with George Rogers Clark, and assisted him with funds and information. Some time after Clark's campaigns, Vigo became an American citizen, and settled at Vincennes, where he took active part in building up the new government, being member of the territorial assembly as well as colonel of militia. He died at an advanced age in 1836. His claims were paid by the United States government to his heirs, in 1875.—Ed.

cludes by assuring me that, although he counts only on the forces which he has there, I may rest assured of his zeal, which, assuredly, will not allow him to neglect any effort which he believes suitable for the defense and honor of our arms, in order that the settlements under his command may be conserved.

The inclement season of the winter and the distance of five hundred leagues do not permit the prompt sending of any reinforcements to him for they would arrive late, as it is not possible to penetrate by water, for the river, from forty leagues below those settlements, is frozen from November until March. However, the great valor of the Lieutenant-Governor, seven hundred and eighty-six good militiamen, and the many Indians, who can be mustered in the eleven villages[92] under his command remove all fear from me. Meanwhile, for my part, I am doing my best to arouse the Indian tribes to resist or destroy the premeditated invasion of Langlade.

In my former letters I have shown how advisable it will be to form new settlements on the west bank of the Mississipi, with faithful men, well inclined toward our government, in order to oppose the continual projects of the Americans; and my idea is corroborated by the letter which I received from Captain Don Joseph Vidal, who is in Concordia, opposite Natchez,[93] at the same time as the above-mentioned letter. Its recital informs me of the insults to which the territory of His Majesty are daily exposed without this government being able to take any resolution to restrain them. Nor is it easy to think of it, for rules are lacking in immense wildernesses for such consummation. In these circumstances I would not be per-

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[92] These villages were Ste. Geneviève, New Bourbon, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, Carondelet, St. Andrew, St. Ferdinand, St. Charles, Portage des Sioux, Maramek, and St. Louis. These represent the increase under Spanish rule from those mentioned *ante*, p. 290, note 13.—Ed.

[93] Capt. José Vidal was commandant of Natchez, when that post was surrendered to the Americans (1798). Having removed across the Mississippi, he named the new post Concordia, in token of the amity prevailing between the two garrisons. The present town of Vidalia, in Concordia Parish, Louisiana, commemorates his name.—Ed.

forming my duty if, in spite of appearing troublesome by repeating many times that Your Excellency deign to carefully consider these provinces, which it seems are, at present, enflamed by the desires of many ambitious men; keeping in mind whatever I have set forth for its conservation and progress, as well as the other privileges which I claim devolve on the authority of the Government, and fulfilling the duties of this advice to the Commander-General of the interior provinces, so that, so far as he is concerned, he take the measures which he considers fitting to check the clandestine trade of Phelipe Noland.[94] May God preserve Your Excellency many years.

NUEVA ORLEANS, October 19th, 1800.

His Excellency Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo.

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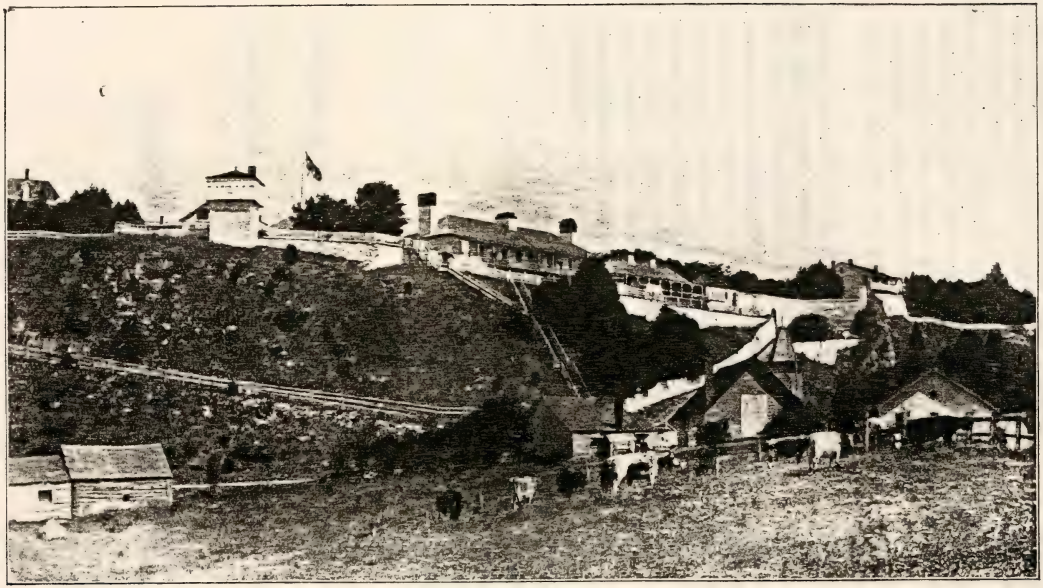
[94] Philip Nolan was a Kentuckian who for some years had been trading in Spanish territory, chiefly in horses. He seems to have in some way been connected with Wilkinson, and acting for him. In the autumn of 1800 he left Natchez with a party of about twenty Americans, to catch wild horses in Texas. On the Brazos River he was attacked and killed by Spanish soldiery. His companions lingered for many years in Spanish prisons, where Pike met some of them; see Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, iv, pp. 281–287. Whether this was really a filibustering or a commercial expedition, has never been certainly proved.—ED.



FORT MACKINAC IN 1905

Photograph from pasture southwest of the fort, between the village and the Grand Hotel

The Mackinac Register

1725–1821: REGISTER OF MARRIAGES IN THE PARISH OF MICHILIMACKINAC

[Translation from a copy of the original in possession of the parish church of Ste. Anne at Mackinac.][95]

List.[96]

2 August 1725 pierre . . . . . .
6 August 1725 jean cauchois . . . . . .
7 January 1726 gabriel . . . . . .
30 October 1729 antoine . . . . . .
13 September 1731 mr. Augus . . . . . .

[95] The old register at Mackinac is still preserved in the parish church of the island. It consists of one large volume, with the records of marriages entered at one end, and those of baptisms at the other. The record of interments is meagre. This volume extends in time from 1741–1821, and we here publish the portion comprising the marriages. That for the baptisms and interments will be given in the succeeding volume of our *Collections*. We are indebted to the Hon. Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago for an admirable transcription of this interesting document, which we follow in the present publication. In March, 1889, Judge Brown read a paper before the Chicago Literary Club, entitled "The Parish Register of the Mission of Michilimackinac," which was published in the same year.—Ed.

[96] The extant register superseded an older one, now lost. At some time, perhaps about 1750, this list of marriages from 1725–41 was copied into the then new register. Unfortunately, the first few pages of the register are torn; these lacunæ are here indicated by leaders (.....). In subsequent documents, where the paper has been torn, similar leaders are employed. Asterisks (* * *) are used only where the Editor has omitted portions from the document; see *post*, p. 473, note 3. The brackets [ ] enclose suggestions or explanatory matter inserted by the Editor.—Ed.

18 April 1735—Antoine Grig . . . . . .
22 September 1735 Charles Chaboi . . . . . .
2 October 1736 claude Germain . . . . . .
7 January 1737 michel Rocheve . . . . . .
30 September 1737 le Sieur jean du lig . . . . . .
14 October 1737 jean Baptiste, Sauva[ge] . . . . . .
17 July 1738 pierre grignon and m . . . . . .
23 September 1738 françois Boisghui . . . . . .
27 November 1738 Charles hamelin and . . . . . .
21 July 1739 pierre locat and marie . . . . . .
13 August 1741 jean Baptiste Gendron . . . . . .
30 August 1741 joseph hins and Constan . . . . . .

The Register from which this summary is taken is among the archives of this mission.

The Register of new marriages follows:

. . . . . twenty and the eleventh [31st] of July, without publication of bans, dispensation wherefrom was granted for valid [and weighty reasons, with the permission of . . . we, performing] the duties of parish priest at this post, [received the mutual marriage con-]sent of Jacque Dumée, son of . . . . . and of marie magdelaine, [daughter] of Sieur jean Baptiste Chevalier . . . . . and gave them the nuptial Benediction, [with the ceremonies of the holy] Church. The consorts acknowledged [as their legitimate child . . . . .] born on the fifth of March of the present year, [of whom the said Jacques] Dumée admits he is the father. The name . . . [In the presence of . . . .] Ramezai Captain of a Company [of the marine detachment] Commanding for the King at Nepigon;[97] . . . . . in the said troops, such commandant . . . . and of other witnesses, who signed with us. The bride declared that

[97] The Chevalier de Ramezay, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 432. His presence fixes the date of this marriage as somewhere near the year 1743.—Ed.

she did not know [how to sign her name when thereunto requested] according to the ordinance.

C. Go^D Coquart, Miss. of L. C. D. J.[98]

Deramezay; manon lavoine chevalier; La Borde.

[In the year one thousand seven hundred and] forty-four, on the third of August, [without publication] of bans, dispensation wherefrom was granted for valid and weighty [reasons], with the permission of R. P. du jaunai,[99] Miss of the Comp. [of Jesus, I] . . . . . performing the duties of parish priest, received the mutual marriage consent of . . . . . Bourassa, son of Sieur René Bourassa and of Agnes . . . . . [of the] parish of la Magdelaine, in the government of Montreal, of the one part, and of Charlotte Chevalier, daughter of j. B. Chevalier and of . . . . . alavoine, and gave them the nuptial benediction with [the ceremonies] of the holy Church. The said consorts acknowledged as their legitimate child . .

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[98] Father Claude Godefroy Coquart was born in 1706, entered the Jesuit order when twenty, and came to Canada in 1738. He spent the first three years in Lower Canada, and in 1741 was ordered to accompany La Vérendrye's expedition to the far Northwest. He was, however, left at Mackinac, where he resided probably until 1745, although he may have made a trip to Fort La Reine in 1743-44. In 1746 he took charge of the Saguenay mission, there remaining eleven years, when he returned to Quebec. After the British conquest he attempted to work in Acadia, but was driven thence, and returned to the Saguenay, where he died at Chicoutimi (1765). The letters L. C. D. J. are the initials of La Compagnie de Jesu (usually rendered in English, Society of Jesus). It is supposed that the next marriage entered was also performed by Coquart, although the entry is not signed.—Ed.

[99] For a brief sketch of Father du Jaunay, who officiated at so many of the following marriages, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 370. He was in Mackinac as early as 1736, being in 1741 stationed at Ouiatanon, among the Miami. About 1744 he was transferred to the Ottawa mission at l'Arbre Croche and Mackinac, where he seems to have remained until 1765. During Pontiac's conspiracy he was a powerful factor for peace, and in securing the release of English prisoners. See documents *ante*.—Ed.

. . a boy born in March of the present year. The whole in the presence of the undersigned witnesses who signed with us.

René Bourassa, fils; Bourassa; [J. B. Che]valier; manon lavoine chevalier; C. Chaboillez; M. C. Lerige; Maugras.

In the year one thousand Seven hundred and forty-four . . . . . after the publication of three bans on the 13th . . . . . from the pulpit of this church, no canonical impediment having come to our knowledge, we, the undersigned missionary priest of the Society of Jesus, [received the] mutual marriage consent of Landres . . . . . , son of Skarsanesse and of the late la chasse, ... and of [Anne Domitille] parent, daughter of pierre parent and of Em . . . . . residents of this post, and gave them the nuptial Benediction according to the rite prescribed by the Holy Church, the whole in the presence of the [undersigned witnesses, at Michilima]kina in the year and on the day above written.

P. du jaunay.

anne domitel parent; G. St Germin; parant; Ce . . . . . ; F. Drunsard (?); langlade; Joseph Decary;[1] J. gadouin; francois rose.

1745, Sieur . . . . and Nanette villeneuve,[2] widow of the late guyari, were married at . . . . by the Reverend Father of the mission, during the winter.

P. du jaunay, miss. of the Society of Jesus.

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[1] Claude Gautier St. Germain de Verville was the father of Charles Gautier, nephew of the younger Langlade. The Langlade signing here was doubtless Augustin Moras, Sieur Langlade, for at this time Charles was but fifteen years of age.

Joseph de Cary was probably the French ancestor of the widely extended Winnebago family of De Kaurays (Decorahs).—Ed.

[2] For this half-sister of Charles Langlade, see *ante*, p. 135, note 74.—Ed.

. . . 1746,[3] I received the mutual [marriage] consent of [Jean] B. Jourdain, son of guillaume [Jourdain and of] Angelique la Reine, of the parish of . . . . [and of] . . . . Reaume, daughter of j. B. Reaume, residing at la Baye,[4] * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the Society of Jesus.
LOUIS PASCALE CHEVALIER.

. . . February, 1747. I Received the mutual marriage [consent] of Pierre Pelletier, son of pierre [Pelletier and] of charlotte arnaud, of the parish of Montreal; and of [fr]ançoise Parent, daughter of Pierre Parent and of [an]ne Chaboiller, residents of this post, after dispensation from the publication of bans * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

Witnesses, NOYELLE, fils; DENYS;[5] PARANT; ANTOINE LA GUER[DA]; JAN MARI FILI; CHABOILLEZ; CLOUDE CELORE [?]; LEMOINE

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[3] In the preceding entries we have given the complete phraseology, as found in the register—this, in order to exhibit the formal style of the original; but in the present and succeeding entries we have, to save space, eliminated mere repetitions of formal phrases, that convey no specific information concerning the event or the persons interested, and are the same for each entry. Such omissions are indicated by the use of three asterisks. In many of the succeeding entries, liberty has also been taken with the form of the date—the spelled-out style of most of the original entries being reduced to modern form: e. g., "the thirtieth day of the month of August of the year one thousand and seven hundred and forty-nine" is hereafter rendered, "August 30, 1749." We have also, in our need of saving space in so bulky and repetitious a document, eliminated the name of the holy day, where occasionally given.—ED.

[4] These two families of Jourdain and Reaume appear to have been among the earliest permanent settlers at Green Bay.—ED.

[5] For these officers, the first of whom was commandant at Mackinac, and the second probably in command at Chequamegon, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 309, 462.—ED.

July 1, 1747, I received the mutual marriage consent of charles personne de la fond, son of the late nicolas personne de la fond and of the late Madeline la Suse, of the parish of Montreal; and of Susanne Reaume, daughter of jean Baptiste Reaume and of Symphorose ouaouaboukoue, residing at la Baye, after one publication of Bans instead of three, having granted dispensation from the two other publications * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

AMIOT; BAPTISTE LE BEAUX; COULONGE, witnesses.

July 22, 1747, I Received the mutual marriage consent of jean Baptiste Tellier de la fortune and of marie josephe, a nepissingue woman Baptized this morning, by which marriage were legitimized Antoine, 19 years old; françois xavier, 14 years old; Ann, ten years old; ignace, 6 years old; Joseph, 3 years old; and marie joseph, 6 months old, their children * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

JEAN BAPTISTE TELLIER; NOYELLE, fils; COULONGE; ANTOINE ST. GERMAIN.

September 5, 1747, I received the mutual marriage consent of joseph guillory, son of simon guillory and of marie de la chapele, of the parish of Montreal; and of louise Bolon, daughter of gabriel Bolon And of Susanne manard, residents of this post —after three publications of Bans * * *

PÈRE LAMORINIE, society of Jesus.[6]

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[6] Jean Baptiste de la Morinie was born in Aquitaine (1705), and joined the Jesuits in 1725. In 1736 he came to Canada, and the second year thereafter was sent to Detroit, where entries in the parish register show his name for two years. He seems to have removed soon after to Mackinac, where he belonged to the mission of St. Ignace. The first entry of his name in the register is in 1741, the last in 1752. It would seem therefore that in this latter year he removed to St. Josephs, where he was missionary among the Potawatomi. About 1760 or 1761, impelled by destitution, he retired to the Illinois, where he

NOYELLE, fils; JOSEPH GUILLORY; DENYS; GABRIEL BOULLON; J. M. BLONDEAU; JANUIAR [?], fils; ST GERMAIN; SEJOURNA SANCHAIGRIN; ANNE VILLENEUVE BLONDEAU; FRANÇOISE LA CROIX; THERESE VILLENEUVE[7]

February 4, 1748, I received the mutual marriage consent of Sieur Charles hamelin, a Former voyageur and of marie athanasie, a Sauteux woman Savage recently baptized. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

CHARLES HAMELIN; ANTOINE JANISSE; L CHENIER, witness.

July 7, 1748, I received the mutual marriage consent of jean baptiste jutras, son of j. B. jutras and of marie josephe Godefroy de lindor [Linctot], of the parish of Three Rivers; and of marie catherine l'archevêque, daughter of the late Augustin l'archevêque and of Marie madelaine Reaume of the mission of St joseph * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

JEAN JUTRAS; CATHRINE LATHE [L'ARCHEVÊQUE]; MARI MADELENE RÉAUME; LEGARDEUR DE ST PIERRE; VERCHERE;[8] BOURASSA; LANGLADE; R. L. DERPINE; LANGLADE, fils.[9]

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served for a time at Ste. Geneviève. Expelled with the other Jesuits in 1764, Father la Morinie went down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and thence to France.—ED.

[7] The mother of Charles Gautier de Verville.—ED.

[8] For these officers see *ante*, p. 22, note 31, and p. 62, note 5. For the occasion which brought St. Pierre to Mackinac, where Verchères was commandant, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, pp. 508-512.—ED.

[9] This is the first time that Charles Langlade's name appears among witnesses to a marriage; a year earlier, he was present and acted as godfather at a baptism.—ED.

August 2, 1748, I received the mutual marriage consent of jacques Bariso de la marche, son of the late julien Bariso de la marche and of the late Genevieve dyel of the parish of la madelaine; and of marie joseph esther larcheveque, daughter of the late Augustine larchevêque and of marie madelaine Reaume of the mission of St Joseph. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

[Name illegible]; LANGLADE; MARIE JOSETTE ESTER; BOURASSA.

August 30, 1749, I received the mutual marriage consent of jean manian l'esperance and of Rose, a Sauteux woman Savage of la pointe, recently Baptized, by which marriage were legitimized Alexis, about eight years old, Anne esther, about six years old, and marie josephe, about three years old, all present. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, missionary of the society of Jesus.

BOURASSA; JANET AGINE [?]

October 13, 1749, I received the mutual marriage consent of joseph victor Couvret, a former voyageur, and of marie charlotte, a woman savage, after one publication of bans, having granted dispensation from the others for valid reasons * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

COUVRETT; JEAN CHAPUIS, witness; DANIELLE VILLENEUVE.

February 1, 1750, I, the undersigned priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of parish priest, received the mutual marriage consent of poncelet Batillo de Clermont, a soldier, son of the late jean Batillo and of marguerite pierrot, of the parish of St pierre de mousar in clarmontor, bishopric of Treves; and of francois[e] Cardinal, widow of the late pierre hubert

la Croix, of the parish of Lachine, and gave them the nuptial benediction * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

PONCELET BATILLO ET CLERMONT; FRANCOIS CARDINALLE; ALLEXIS SEJOURNE dit SANSRAGIN [Sanschagrin]; BOURASSA; DUPLESSYFABER[10].

February 1, 1750, I, the undersigned priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of parish priest, received the mutual marriage consent of jean Baptiste la feriere dit jasmin, widower of the late Catherine le febvre of the parish of la prairie de la madelaine; and of francoise hubert la Croix, daughter of the late pierre hubert dit la Croix and of françoise Cardinal, of the parish of La Chine * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, of the society of Jesus.

JEAN BAPTISTE LAFAITIERE JASMAIN; FARAN LA CROIX; PONCELET BATILLOT; FRANÇOISE CARDINALLE; ALLIXIS SEJOURNÉ dit SANCHAGRIN; BOURASSA; [name illegible].

July 16, 1750, dear brother Nicolas demers, born on the 12th of January, 1722 in the parish of St nicolas, near Quebec, who had begun his novitiate at the Quebec college on the 14th of July 1748, made his profession of the three first vows in the Society of Jesus at michilimakina in the year and on the day above written.

P. DU JAUNAY, of the society of Jesus.

JEAN BAPTISTE NICOLAS DEMERS.[11]

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[10] For this officer see *ante*, p. 61, note 3.—ED.

[11] But little is known of this Jesuit, beyond what is stated here. He seems to have been at Mackinac in 1756, being reputed to have come from France, arriving in Canada in 1746. Possibly he was educated in France, and came back to Quebec for his novitiate. He was in Quebec in 1780.—ED.

January 11, 1751,[12] I, the undersigned missionary priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of parish priest, after the three publications of bans on the 3rd, 6th, and 10th of the month, received the mutual marriage consent of Charles dit Chanteloups, son of francois Charlu and of Marthe foretier, of the parish of Montreal; and of Agnes, residing here * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, of the society of Jesus.

CHARL CHARLU; AN AG AMIOT; DUPLESSY FABER; PONCELET BATILOT; BOURASSA; WEZIAT DELGULPEN [?]

July 6, 1751, having for weighty reasons granted, under the presumed consent of monseigneur the bishop, dispensation from the publication of bans, I, the undersigned, performing the duties of parish priest, received the mutual marriage consent of francois louis Cardin, a soldier of this garrison, and of marie Coussante Chevalier, a widow, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the Society of Jesus.

CARDIN; DUPLESSIS FABER; MANON LAVOINE, VEUVE CHEVALIER; CHABOILLEZ; LAGUERCHE; MARIN.

July 25, 1751, after three publications of bans, I, the undersigned missionary priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of the parish priest at this post, received the mutual marriage consent of joseph Relle and of Charlotte parant, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

DUPPLESSY FABER; PARANT; LANGLADE; NICOLAS LEFEBRE.

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[12] Preceded in the registry by a baptism on July 31, 1750. Several such baptisms were, by mistake, inserted among the marriages; we have, in each case, removed these, and will insert them among the baptisms, in proper order, in our vol. xix.—ED.

June 4, 1752, after publishing one ban, at the parochial or common mass of michilimakina and suppressed the two others in accordance with the permission expressly given the Reverend father du jaunay by Monseigneur the bishop of Quebec for the reasons alleged by the contracting parties, I, the undersigned priest of the society of Jesus, received at ten o'clock in the evening the mutual marriage consent of Etienne Chesnier of the parish of la chinne, son of joseph chesnier, of the parish of the town of Montreal, deceased, and of Magdelaine de Cok, his mother, married a second time; and of anne Tharse Esther, daughter of the late jean Baptiste chevalier, of the parish of Montreal, and of marie francoise alavoine jasmin, widow, of the parish of Montreal and residing at this post. * * *

In the presence of M^r. du plessis, first Captain of a company of a detachment of the marine, knight of the royal and military order of St Louis and in person commanding for the king at michilimakinak, and of M^r. de vollemonde de beaujour, Captain of a company of the same detachment of the marine and commanding for the King at Camanitigouia, and of monsieur d'anglade and Couronat and others, witnesses, relatives, who signed with me. J. B. LAMORINIE, jesuit.

BEAUJEU DEVILLEMOIN; BOURASSA; CARDIN; CHENIER; LANGLADE; ESTHER CHEVALIER; CABOILLEZ.

July 6, 1752, I received the mutual marriage consent of jean Brian, son of the late jean Brian and of janne vigne, of the parish of Toussaint in the town of Rennes, a soldier married with his captain's permission; and of francoise, a Saulteux woman, after one publication of bans * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

JA BRIAN dit BEALIU; JASMAIN; BOURASSA.

January 29, 1753, I, the undersigned missionary of the society of Jesus, receiv d the mutual marriage consent of Messire joseph

daillebout de Coulange Elnier, son of Mr. junis [Louis] d'Aillebout Elnier and felicité Picard, of the one part; and of Marianne [Parent, daughter of Pierre Parent and of Marianne] chaboier—after the three publications of bans * * *

M. L. Lefranc, miss. of the society of Jesus.[13]

Coulonge Marianne; Dailleboute Lamadeleine; Parent; Chaboillez; Bourassa, witness; Langlade, witness.

July 22, 1754,[14] I, the undersigned Missionary of the society of Jesus, received the mutual Marriage consent of Michel girardin, Armourer, son of jacques girardin and of marie clotilde brisson, of the one part; and of Marie hyppolite favre, daughter of jean Baptiste favre and of Marie Baptier, after the three publications of bans. * * *

M. L. Lefranc, of the society of Jesus.

Michelle girardin; jaq. farly; mari epollite favre; Girardin.

July 6, 1753, I received the mutual marriage consent of antoine le Tellier de la fortune, son of j. B. le Tellier de la fortune and of marie josephe, of the one part; and of Charlotte ouebounis, daughter of pierre migouanonjean, an outaoua and of Catharine, who died in the faith in Jesus Christ, of the other part, and, after one publication of bans for the three, I gave them the nuptial benediction * * *

P. du jaunay, miss. of the society of Jesus.

Antoine tellier; jean telier de la fortune; antoine St. Germain; langlade; f. hamelin.

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[13] Marie Louis le Franc was born in 1716, entered the Jesuit order in 1742, and arrived in Canada six years later. He was known to have been in Quebec in 1749, and probably came to Mackinac to succeed Father la Morinie, when the latter went to St. Josephs. Father le Franc's ministrations at Mackinac continued until 1761; he seems then to have retired to Quebec, where he died in 1776.—Ed.

[14] This entry was inserted out of the regular order, before the remaining marriages of 1753.—Ed.

Aug. 12, 1754, I, the undersigned missionary priest of the society of Jesus, received the mutual marriage consent of M^re. charles moras, Sieur de l'anglade and of charlotte ambroisine Bourassa, both residing at this post, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.[15]

M. L. LEFRANC, of the society of Jesus.

BOURASSA; CHARLE LANGLADE; CHARLOTTE BOURASSA LANGLADE; J. M. BLONDEAU; BOURASSA, fils; VOLANT; MARIN; [Name illegible]; ANNE VILLENEUVE; GONNEVILLE; AGATHE VILLENEUVE; RENE DE COUANGE fils; NANETTE CHEVALIER BOURASSA; D'AILLEBOUST DEMANTET; DAILLEBOUST LAMADELEINE; HERBIN, Commandant of the Place.

August 15, 1754, I, the undersigned Missionary priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of parish priest at this post, received the mutual marriage consent of jean Baptiste reaume, interpreter at la Baie, and of marie matchiouagakouat, a folle avoine woman, who had co-habited for two years during which time they had issue jean baptiste, now eleven months old, whom they acknowledged as their legitimate child. * * *

M. L. LEFRANC, miss. of the society of Jesus.

AMIOT; JEAN BAPTISTE REAUME; MARIE MATCHIOUAGAKOUAT, + her mark; JASMAIN, witness; PAUL AMABLE CHABOIEZ, witness; RENÉ BOURASSA, witness.

Nov. 30, 1754, I, the undersigned missionary priest of the society of Jesus performing the duties of parish priest at this post, received the mutual marriage consent of Charles, a slave of M^r. Bourassa, of the one part; and of marie, a slave of M^r.

[15] For the marriage contract drawn by the notary Louis Cardin, see *ante*, pp. 135-140.—ED.

l'englade, the younger, after two publications of bans with dispensation from the third, and there being no impediment.

* * * M. L. Lefranc, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

Bourassa; langlade; nanette Bourassa; Charlotte Bourassa Langlade; Charles Chaboillez; René toullis; La Combe.

I, the undersigned Missionary priest of the society of Jesus, performing the duties of parish priest at this post, received the mutual consent of francois Brisbe de la grandeur, sergeant of the troops, son of françois Brisbe and of marie de la Rouche, his father and mother, of the parish of Gonneville, diocese of Coutance, lower Normandy, of the one part; and of Marie ann parent, widow of Messire joseph d'aillebousst de coulonge, of the other part, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses. At michilimakina, May 25, 1755.

M. L. Le franc, of the society of Jesus.

Lagrandeur, Sergeant; marianne parant; parant; langlade; m. r. a. c. b. parant; Langlade, fils; Chaboillez; Laurent Berbrante; jasmain, witness; herbin, commandant.

I, the undersigned, performing the duties of parish priest, received the mutual marriage consent of Nicolas Amiot and of Suzanne, recently baptized, with the ceremonies prescribed by the holy Roman church, by which marriage was legitimized Ambroise, their son, about eight months old. * * * Michilimakina, Aug. 18, 1755.

P. du jaunay, miss. of the society of Jesus.

Amiot; langlade; Barthelmi blondeau; J. Am. huber.

I, * * * received the mutual consent of Charles Faulteur, legitimate son of pierre Faulteur and of catherine, his father and mother, of the parish of la presentation de l'isle du pas, of the one part; and of francoise Amiot, legitimate daughter

of jean Baptiste Amiot and of Marianne, her father and mother of the other part, residents of this post—after three publications of the bans. * * * April 27, 1756.

M. L. Lefranc, of the society of Jesus.

AMIOT; LANGLADE; J. JOLIETTE; LOUIS PORTELENCE; FRANCOIS, witness.

I, * * * received the mutual marriage consent of Claude Pellé de la haye, voyageur; and of marie, a young Outaouais woman, baptized yesterday, daughter of Nesxesouexité, daughter of kinonchamee—after one publication of bans and with dispensation from the two other publications. * * * At michilimakina, May 10, 1756.

P. du jaunay, miss. of the society of Jesus.

Claude pellé lahay; Langlade; barthelmi blondeau; Charle Lapalme.

I, * * * received the mutual consent of jean Baptiste Cadot and of marianne, a neophyte, daughter of a nipissing, according to the ceremonies of the holy Roman church; by which marriage was legitimized marie Renée, their daughter, about two and a half months old—in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and others, October 28, 1756, at michilimakinak.

M. L. Lefranc, miss. of the society of Jesus.

Cadot; Bourassa; langlade; R. De Couagne, fils; René La Combe.

I, * * * received the mutual consent of jean Baptiste metivier and of josette parent, and, after two publications of bans with dispensation from the third. * * * at michilimakinak July 19, 1757.

M. L. Lefranc, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

herbin; pierre Monbron; pierre parant; m r a n Chaboillez; parant; Chaboillez; Bourassa; Joseph parant; marian parent; mongrain; hynon; Maquille.

I, * * * gave the nuptial benediction, after receiving their mutual consent, to pierre Le Duc, voyageur, and Agathe villeneuve,[16] after publishing one ban and granting dispensation from the two others. * * * At michilimakina, May 21, 1758.

M. L. Lefranc, of the society of Jesus.

Beaujour [Beaujeu]; agathe villeneuve; J. M. Blondeau; Bourassa; Langlade; Langlade, fils; Bourassa Langlade; Farly; Gauliter de Vierville; amiot; Caterinne Lerige.

I, * * * gave the nuptial Benediction, after receiving their mutual consent, to jacques Gaillard and to Marianne Jbeau, after publishing one ban and granting dispensation from the two others. * * * At michilimakina May 21, 1758.

M. L. Lefranc, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

Beaujour; Langlade, fils; Sejourné; Paul amable Chaboiez; René bourassa, petit-fils.

I, * * * gave the nuptial benediction, after receiving their mutual consent, to michel rocheveau and to marie tiennota, who hereby legitimized and acknowledged as their children jean Baptiste and marie joseph, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and of others who declared that they could not sign their names. At michilimakinak, July 16, 1758.

M. L. Lefranc, Miss. of the Society of Jesus.

miche rochevau; Lefebvre; Sejourne.

I, * * * gave the nuptial Benediction, after receiving their mutual consent, to jean Baptiste marcot and to marie

[16] For these persons see *ante*, pp. 135, 264, notes 75 and 64 respectively.—Ed.

neskech, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and others. At michilimakina July 24, 1758.

M. L. LEFRANC, miss. of the society of Jesus.

LANGLADE; J. JOLIETT; LA FORTUNE.

I, * * * gave the nuptial benediction, after receiving their mutual consent, to jean cottenoire and to marie matchiouagakouat, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and others, August 6, 1758. at michilimakina.

M. L. LEFRANC, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

RENNÉ BOURASSA, fils: CARDIN; LAURENT.

January 7, 1760, I, * * * received the mutual consent of and gave the nuptial benediction to michel Boier and to josette margueritte de lignon, after the publication of three bans—in the presence of the undersigned witnesses and of others in attendance.

M. L. LEFRANC, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

MI. LAMARQUE; MICHELLE BOYER; JEAN ROMAIN DIT SANSCRAINTE; SEJOURNE; BOURASSA; FARLY; LANGLADE; LA FAINTESSIE; RENÉ BOURASSA, fils; BOURASSA; LANGLADE; AMABLE CHABOILLLEZ; RENÉ BOURASSA, petit-fils.

In the presence of the undersigned witnesses, I received the mutual consent of pierre duprés and of marie joseph carignan at michilimakinak July 13, 1761.

M. L. LEFRANC, Miss. of the society of Jesus.

JAC FARLY; JOS. BOURICE; FRANCOIS CARIGNANT; JOSEPH DUCHAUX.

August 16, 1762, I, * * * received the mutual marriage consent of messire Constant Kerigoufili[17] and of angelique metivier, and gave them the nuptial Benediction. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the Society of Jesus.

DECONSTANT QUIERIGOUFILI; MARIE ANGELLI METIVIER; LAURENT DUCHARME; LANGLADE; MARGUERITTE METTIVIER; FARLY; DUCHARME; LANGLADE, fils; LEONARD [name inelligible]; SEJOURNE, witness; BOURASSA LANGLADE; MARIE JOSEPH DU MOUCHELLE FARLY; ANGELIQUE CEJOURNÉE.

July 25, 1763, I, * * * received the mutual marriage consent of Michel joseph marchettau de Noyer, voyageur; and of Therese parant. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, of the society of Jesus.

PIERRE PARANT; LANGLADE; AMABLE ROY; PARANT, fils; LANGLADE, fils; RENÉ BOURASSA; BOURASSA; L. BERTRAND; SEJOURNE; BOURASSA LANGLADE.

May 4, 1764, I, * * * received the mutual marriage consent of jean Baptiste Cauchois, voyageur, and of Angelique Sejourné, and gave them the nuptial benediction. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

JEAN BTE CAUCHOIS; ANGELIQUE SEJOURNÉ; SEJOURNE; FARLY; PARANT, père; MICHEL BOYER; BOURASSA, père; M. AUGER; AUGUSTIN CHABOILLEZ; L. CHABOILLEZ; BOURASSA, fils; AMABLE ROY; GRIGNON.

July 24, 1764, I received the mutual marriage consent of jean Baptiste le Beau, voyageur; and marie joseph, called lysette jourdin, after the three publications of Bans. * * *

[17] The family name was Fily de Kerregou.—ED.

On the same day I received the mutual marriage consent of francois le Blanc, voyageur; and of marie joseph, called josette jourdin after the three publications of bans. * * *

P. DU JAUNAY, miss. of the society of Jesus.

FRANÇOIS LE BLANC, + his mark; BAPTISTE LE BEAUX; LANGLADE; LA FORTUNE; LAURENT DUCHARME; CARDIN; JEAN BAPTISTE JOURDAIN, + his mark, father of the brides.

July 25, 1768,[18] we, vicar-general of Illinois, in virtue of the powers vested in us by monseigneur Briand, Bishop of Quebec,[19] dated May 15, of the present year, granted dispensation from the three publications of bans of marriage in favor of the persons hereinafter named, to-wit: Gabriel Coté, trader, of this post, son of Nicolas Cotté and of Marie le Vasteur, residing at camouraka; and agathe Desjardins of this post. And, knowing no other impediment to the said marriage, we received their mutual consent and gave them the mutual benediction, according to the form prescribed by our mother the holy church, to ratify and validate the consent the aforesaid parties had already given one another on August 17, 1765, in the presence of several persons and in the church, promising, as they could not do otherwise owing to there being no priest, to take advantage of the arrival of the first one, to have their marriage validated and thus legitimize a child born February 28, 1767, which they did this day in the presence of Mr Catin sargt and pierre Chaboiller, friends of the husband; and of Sieur Jaques Giasson and D^me Therese Campion wife of pierre ignace DuBois, friends of the

[18] There appear to have been no entries between 1764 and 1768, doubtless because of the absence of priests.—ED.

[19] Jean Olivier Briand, seventh bishop of Quebec, was born in 1715, ordained to the priesthood in 1739, and came to Canada as secretary of Bishop Pontbriand. Upon the latter's death (1760) he exercised the functions of canon of Quebec cathedral, being chosen (1766) to the vacant see. He was an energetic and effective administrator, and adhered to the British cause during the American Revolution. In 1784 he resigned because of age and infirmity, and died at Quebec in 1794.—ED.

wife, all of whom, except the wife, signed these presents first duly read.

GIBAULT, Vicar-general.[20]

COTTÉ; CHABOILLEZ; GIASSON; CARDIN; THERESE CAMPION DUBOIS.

July 28, 1773, I, the undersigned Vicar-General of Illinois received the mutual marriage consent of Sieur hyacinthe Amelin, trader; and of marie joseph maingans, and gave them the nuptial Benediction according to the form prescribed by the holy Roman church and in the presence of Sieurs Louis Cardin and Charles Chaboiller, friends of the husband; and of Sieurs Charles mudox and amable roy, and of therese Campion wife of Sieur Du Bois, friends of the wife, who signed with us these presents duly read.

GIBAULT.

H[Y]AST HAMELIN; CHARLES MADDOX; CARDIN; AMABLE ROY; THERESE CAMPION DUBOIS; CHABOILLEZ.

June 23, 1775, I published one marriage ban and granted dispensation from the two others in favor of francois Maurice de la fantaizie, a native of the town of Montreal residing in this parish, son of francois maurice de la fantaisie and of magdeleine le Duc, his father and mother, of the one Part; and in favor of Marie anne Cardin, a native of the village, daughter of Louis Cardin formerly a Notary at this Post and of the late Constante Chevalier, her father and mother, of the other Part. No impediment to the marriage having been discovered, we, the undersigned missionary Priest and Vicar-General of Monseigneur the bishop of Quebec in these Countries, received their mutual marriage consent * * * and in the presence, on behalf of the husband of Sieurs Pascal Pillet and hypolitte Cam-

[20] For this priest see *ante*, p. 292, note 14. He was at this time passing through Mackinac en route to the Illinois.—ED.

peau, his friends; and on behalf of the wife, of joseph Ainsse, her brother; hypolitte Chaboiller, her Cousin German; jean Baptiste Barthe, also her Cousin; of Sieurs Ignace Bourassa and Guillaume La Motte, her friends, some of Whom signed with me, as did also the wife; the others, together with the husband, declared they could not sign these presents duly read.

P. GIBAULT, Priest, Vicar-General.

P. PILLET; MARIANNE CARDIN; AINSEE; I G. BOURASSA; J. D. CHABOILLEZ; J. BT. BARTHE; SUZANNE BOYER.

October 6, 1775, after the publication of one marriage ban from the Pulpit during one of our solemn masses, and after dispensation from the two others granted in favor of Sieur Joseph Ainsse, a native of this post, son of joseph Ainsse and of the late Constante Chevalier, his father and mother, of the one part; and D^elle^ therese Bondy, a native of Detroit, daughter of Joseph Bondy and of D^me^ Cecile Campeau, her father and mother, of the other part;[21] * * * received their mutual marriage consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction.* * * in the presence, on behalf of the husband: of Louis Cardin, his brother; of Marie Anne Cardin, his sister; of francois Maurice de la fantaisie, his Brother-in-law; of Sieur Montforton, notary, his friend; of Sieur Guillaume La Motte, also his friend; and, on behalf of his wife: of Sieur jean Baptiste Bondy, her brother, and of Benjamin Papin, her friend; some of whom signed with us, as did also the husband and wife; the others declared they could neither write nor sign their names, when thereunto required according to the ordinance.

P. GIBAULT, Priest, Vicar-General

LOUIS JOSEPH AINSEE; THERESE BONDY; JEAN BATITE BONDY; MONFORTON; LOUIS CARDIN; MARIANNE CARDIN.

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[21] A prominent family of Detroit, whose ancestor arrived there in 1730. Thérèse Bondy afterwards married Col. Jacques Godefroy of Detroit.—ED.

April 19, 1781, the Marriage Ceremony was solemnized between Thomas Stone and Margaret Paterson, daughter to Geo. Paterson, soldier in the 8th Regiment, by their mutual consent and before the undersigned witnesses. In testimony whereof the said Parties have also affixed their names—the Ceremony performed by Patrick Sinclair Esq., Governor of the Post.[22]

THO STONE

Witnesses: JOHN COATES, Notary Public.

January 1, 1779, in the afternoon called upon by Sieur Charles Gaultier de Vierville, Lieutenant Captain and interpreter of the King for the savages, son of Claude Germain de Vierville and of Therese Villeneuve, his father and mother deceased; and by Magdeleine Chevalier, daughter of the late Pascal Chevalier and of Magdeleine Larcheveque, her Mother, to confirm the Union that a virtuous love induces them to contract together, to prepare them to crown the flame that a Mutual Affection has kindled in their hearts, before our mother the Holy Church, whereof they are members and in whose bosom they wish to live and die,—we proceeded to the House of Sieur Louis Chevalier, uncle of the future Wife to remove all obstacles interfering with their desires and to secure for them, as far as in us lies, days full of sweetness and rest. There, in the presence of the future consorts, of their relatives and friends, we entered in these presents the following covenants, to-wit:—The said future husband, being in the disposition required by the holy Roman Church and according to the ordinances she imposes on her children, promises to take as his wife and lawful spouse Magdeleine Chevalier who, on her side, consents to accept him as her husband and lawful spouse, having the full and entire consent of her family. In virtue of these presents, the husband—taking the wife with all her future rights, with the share of Inheritance coming to her and which is to be handed over to her on

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[22] This is, so far as we know, the first civil service performed at Mackinac by an officer; possibly it was the first marriage ceremony performed on Mackinac Island. The original entry is in English.—ED.

the first Demand therefor, to become their common property and the fruits thereof to be enjoyed by them—wishing to add to the rights of his future wife and thereby prove the great affection he has for her, endows her with the sum of one thousand Ecus, to be taken by privilege from the Property they may acquire together, to provide for the Needs to which the Accidents of Life may give rise. The future consorts—not content with the happy Union they are about to contract unless they secure for themselvs harmony, repose, and sweet Comfort until the last moment of their lives—wish and consent unanimously in order to enjoy without trouble the happiness they expect, that their Property be possessed with full and entire enjoyment by the survivor after the demise of either of them, and by these presents they set aside all claims and pretensions that may be set up by their own children, should heaven grant their desires by giving such worthy fruits of their mutual love; unless, however, the survivor should wish to enter into another alliance, in which case the contracting party shall be responsible to the children, the Heirs, for their share in the said Heritage. But if Heaven, deaf to their prayers, refuses them lawful Heirs, the survivor shall dispose of the whole according to his or her will and Good pleasure, without being molested by the relatives of either party. The last wish of the future wife is that the said husband shall at once participate in all her rights. They propose and it is their will to have their consent approved and ratified by a Notary and to have the ceremonies of Marriage supplied them by a priest as soon as they are able to do so.

For thus,—wishing, obliging and acknowledging the promise made.[23]

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[23] The above is more in the nature of a marriage contract, than of a ceremony. It does not appear by whom it was drawn, but probably by some civil officer. For an allusion to this marriage, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 100.

Following this entry were two notices of parish meetings held at Mackinac in 1821, evidently misplaced. We have removed these, and retained them for insertion in proper chronological order.—Ed.

July 20, 1786, I, the undersigned priest, having granted dispensation of bans between Sieur Charles Viarville dit Gauthier son of Sieur Claude Germain Viarville and of Therese Villeneuve, his father and mother, of this parish, of the one part; and Magdelaine Paschal Chevalier, daughter of Sieur Louis Paschal Chevalier and of the late Magdeleine Réaume, her father and mother, residing in the same place, of the other part—administered the sacrament of matrimony to the said consorts after receiving their mutual consent which they had already pledged before witnesses pending an opportunity of having their marriage confirmed and ratified by an approved priest and before several witnesses according to the usage and custom of and as prescribd by our mother the holy church and as testified below by the signatures of Messieurs Carignan, Notary public and honeill Trader, who have signed below with the interested parties.

PAYET, priest Miss^{n}.

L. CARIGNAN; JOSEPH ONEILLE; C. GAUTHIER.

July 20, 1786, I, the undersigned Priest, having granted dispensation of bans between Daniel Bourassa, son of René Bourassa and madame Anne Chevalier, of this parish, of the one part; and Marguerite Bertrand, daughter of Laurent Bertrand and of the late Marie Therese Dulignon, her father and mother, of this parish, of the other part—administered the sacrament of Matrimony to the said consorts, after receiving the mutual consent which they had already pledged in the presence of witnesses, pending an opportunity of having their Marriage confirmed and ratified by an approved priest * * * and as testified below by the signatures of Messieurs Carignan, Notary public, and honeill, Trader, who have signed with us and the interested parties.

PAYET, Miss^{n}. priest.

JOSEPH ONEILLE; L. CARIGNAN; DL. BOURASSA.

July 23, 1786, after invoking the enlightenment of the Holy Ghost, we the undersigned, elected by a majority of votes, as Church-wardens of the church of Ste Anne de Michilimakina, messieurs Jean baptiste Barthe and Louis Carignan who formally promised and undertook to care for the interests of the said Church as their own and on their soul and conscience.[24]

In testimony whereof they have signed with us.

PAYET, Missionary priest.[25]

L. CARIGAN; J. B. BARTHE; ENE CAMPION; G. COTI; C. THIERRY; C. LANGLADE, fils; J. SANGUINET; C. GAUTIER; BTE LABEAU; DL. BOURASSA; J. BTE LAFRAMBOISE; PR. GRIGNON; MARCHENAU; JEAN REIVE; LUC CHEVALIER.

August 8, 1787 I the undersigned priest—having granted dispensation of bans between Pierre Grignon, son of Sieur Pierre Grignon and of Marguerite Chevalier, his father and mother, of the Parish of Grondines in the government of Quebec, of the one part; and Louise Domitille Langlade, daughter of Charles Langlade and of Charlotte Bourassa, her father and mother, of this parish, of the other part—administered the sacrament of matrimony to them, after receiving the mutual consent which they had already pledged in the presence of witnesses pending an opportunity of having their union ratified by an approved priest and before several witnesses according to the custom of and as prescribed by our mother the holy church and as testified below by the signatures of messieurs Gabriel Cotté and Jacques

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[24] Marginal note in the original: "Monsieur Coté being domiciled at this post, will always give the blessed bread at Ste. Anne's feast."

[25] Louis Payet was born at Montreal in 1749, ordained to the priesthood in 1774, and in 1781 went to Detroit where he was appointed parish priest the following year. He made several trips to the outlying missions, notably to Vincennes (1784), Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. He resigned in 1786; but the next document would seem to prove that he did not return to Canada until after the summer of 1787.—ED.

Louis Mingui, traders, who have signed with us as have also the parties interested.

PAYET, Miss. priest.

JOS. L MAINGUY; PIERRE GRIGNON; G. COTTÉ; DOMITILLE LANGLADE.

January 21, 1792, I, the undersigned Justice of the Peace, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Jean Baptiste La Borde dit Sans regret, and of marguerite Machar Chevalier, In the presence of the undersigned witnesses * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.[26]

ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; J. B. BARTHE; C. GAULTIER; JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE; J. B. LA BORDE DI SANREGRET; EZECHIEL SOLOMON; JOHN KIRBY; LOUIS CHEVALIER, + his mark; MAD^ME GAULTIER, + her mark.

March 19, 1792, I the Undersigned, Commandant of this Post, received the Mutual Marriage Consent of Alexis Laframboise, Esquire, and of Josette Adhemar,[27] in the presence of the Undersigned witnesses, in the House of Gabriel Cotté, Esquire, Michilimakinac, * * *

EDW. CHARLETON, Capt. 5th Reg. Com^g.

J. B. BARTHE; CHLES CHABOILLEZ; C. GAULTIER; BENJAMIN ROCHE, Lieut. 5th foot; J. LAFRAMBOISE; R. WIDENHAM; CHARLES MORISON; W. GLEADOWE, Ensign 5th foot[28]; JOSETTE ADHEMAR; ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; ADHEMAR ST MARTIN.

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[26] A well-known family of Detroit, whose ancestor came there in 1709. At what time this person was appointed justice of the peace at Mackinac does not appear.—ED.

[27] See a reference to this family in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, p. 20.—ED.

[28] Capt. Edward Charleton was captain in the 5th infantry of the British army in 1783. Apparently he was commandant at Fort Michilimackinac from 1790–92. In 1794 he was promoted to a majority, and three years later retired on half-pay, dying at his English home in 1839.

Benjamin Roche, of the same regiment, entered the army in 1782,

July 1, 1792, I, the undersigned, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, received the Mutual Marriage Consent of Sieur charles Chandonnet and of Charlotte Marcot in the presence of the undersigned witnesses, in The house of Sieur Daniel Bourassa at Michilimakina * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

CHAR. CHANDONETTE; DL. BOURASSA; CHADONAT; JAMES KING; JEAN BAPTISTE LA BORDE; C. LANGLADE, fils; BE MOLAIRE, + his mark; M. BRISBOIS;[29] C. GAULTIERE; JEAN MOPREESK.

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being made lieutenant of the 5th in 1789. In 1796 he was transferred to the 30th as captain, and either died or resigned in 1801.

William Gleadowe was made ensign of the 5th in 1788, and retired therefrom in 1795.—ED.

[29] Charles Langlade Jr. was the son of Charles Langlade Sr. and an Ottawa woman, being born before the latter's marriage in 1754. This half-breed was educated in Montreal, and became an Indian trader and interpreter. He was first employed in the latter capacity in 1782; and having been made ensign in the British Indian department, migrated to St. Joseph's Island with the garrison in 1796. There he was chosen in 1799 as official interpreter, to succeed Lamothe. He aided in the re-capture of Mackinac by the British in 1812, and in the repulse of the Americans in 1814. After the war he retired to Drummond Island, and probably died there. His descendants were recently living in Canada; see Ontario Hist. Soc. *Records*, iii, pp. 147–149. Angelique Langlade, with whom an interview is there given, was probably the granddaughter (not the daughter) of Charles Langlade Jr., and either she or her interviewer has confused the facts in the life of her grandfather and great-grandfather, making them appear as one.

Michael Brisbois was born in Maska, Canada, in 1759. While being educated at Quebec, he was one of a corps of students enrolled to repel Montgomery's invasion in 1775. In 1779 Brisbois entered the fur-trade, arriving at Mackinac that year. Within a year or more he had permanently settled at Prairie du Chien, where he became the leading citizen. His trade was with the Winnebago Indians, and in the decade of the nineties he had a post near Fond du Lac, Wis. He had several children by a Winnebago woman, and married in 1796 the daughter of Charles Gautier. In 1809 he received an American commission as militia lieutenant of Illinois Territory; his sympathies, however, in the War of 1812–15, were with the British, to whom he furnished sup-

January 14, 1794, I the undersigned, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, received The mutual Marriage Consent of Paul Gina and of Marie Josephte, In the presence of the undersigned witnesses, in the House of Sieur Gabriel Cotté, Esquire, at Michilimakina, * * *

D. MITCHELL, J. P.[30]

ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; JOS. BLUNT LEHKE; R. YOUNG; J. B. BARTHE; PATRICE ADHEMAR; GUILLAUME AMOTHE; ADHEMAR ST MARTIN; HARRIET BLUNT; LOUISA HAMILTON;[31] BLONDEAU ADHEMAR; ADHEMAR LARFAMBOISE; ANGELIQUE ADHEMAR; PAUL GINA, + HIS MARK; MARIE JOSEPHTE, + her mark.

February 6, 1794, I the Undersigned, one of His Majesty's justices of the Peace, received The mutual Marriage Consent of Jean Baptiste La fontaine and of Marguerite, In the presence

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plies, but personally he was non-combatant. He was arrested about 1816 for treason, being defended at St. Louis by Thomas H. Benton, who secured his acquittal. In 1829 Brisbois became blind, and died at his Prairie du Chien home in 1837. See interview with his son, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 282–285; also numerous references in other volumes of this series.—ED.

[30] David Mitchell came to America in 1771, entering the British army as surgeon's mate in 1774. Soon thereafter his regiment was ordered to Mackinac, and upon its removal (1783) Dr. Mitchell continued his services until relieved in 1786. Meanwhile he had married a Chippewa woman, and had a fine house and garden upon the island. He entered the Indian trade and was made justice of the peace for his district. Upon the removal of the British, Dr. Mitchell set up an establishment on St. Joseph's Island, but his wife elected to remain at Mackinac. In 1811 he was reappointed surgeon in the Indian Department, and aided in the British invasion of 1812. At the close of the war, he retired with the troops to Drummond Island, where he remained in public service until his death, which occurred after 1825. His wife was one of the best-known residents of early Mackinac; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 35–38.—ED.

[31] Probably a daughter of Dr. Mitchell; see *Id.*, ix, p. 204.—ED.

of the Undersigned witnesses, in the House of Mr alexis Laframboise at Michilimakinak * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; R. YOUNG; T. POTHIER; ANGELIQUE ADHEMAR; + NANE DEAU; PATRICE ADHEMAR; ADHEMAR LAFRAMBOISE; MARGUERITE, + her mark.

June 25, 1794, I, the undersigned priest and apostolic Missionary, Received the mutual consent of jean Bouga and of jeanne, the former a negro and the latter a negress, both free, and I gave them the nuptial Benediction in the presence of the following witnesses, towit: Messr. jean Nicolas Marchesseaux, hamelin, the elder, francois Soulignny, charles chandonnet, some of whom signed; the others, being unable to write, made their usual marks. * * *

LE DRU, apostolic Missionary.[32]

On the same day and in the presence of the same witnesses aforesaid, The husband and wife acknowledged as their legitimate daughter a girl called Charlotte, about twelve years old, and have signed.

LE DRU, apostolic Missionary.

F. HAMELIN; MARCHESSAU; FR. SOULIGNY; CHARLES CHAUDONNET.

October 26, 1794, I the Undersigned, one of his majesty's justices of the peace, received the mutual Marriage consent of Baptiste Mineville and of Charlotte, a woman Savage, In the presence of the undersigned witnesses, in the house of Sieur

[32] F. le Dru was a Dominican priest, who had been employed in Canada. In 1788 he was sent by Archbishop Carroll to the Illinois, and about 1790 retired to the Spanish side of the Mississippi, where he accepted a parish. Some time about 1796, he was at Detroit, where he is spoken of as "an apostate." He seems to have been the first American priest at Mackinac.—ED.

Robert McKenzie, at Michilimakinac on the day and in the year Above written.

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

Witness: ROBERT MC KENZIE; ROBT. CAMPBELL; ALEX. SHAW; EZECHIEL SOLOMON; BTE MINEVILLE, + his mark; CHARLOTTE, + her mark; PF. MCGULPIN, + his mark.

September 21, 1795, I the Undersigned, one of His Majesty's justices of the Peace, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Sieur Laurent Bertrand and of Dame felicité Pilet, widow Carignant, In the presence of the undersigned witnesses in Madame Carignant's House, * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

LAURANT BERTRAND; FELICITE PILLET BERTRAND; G. L. MOTHIER; J. B. BARTHE; DL. BOURASSA.

July 29, 1796, after granting dispensation from three Bans, I received the consent of and gave the nuptial Benediction, according to the ceremonies of the holy roman Church, to Alexis la framboise, born at Three Rivers in Canada, of Jean Baptiste and of genevieve le bissoniere; and josepte adhemar, born at detroit, of antoine adhemar and of genevieve Blondeau, already civilly married as appears in the present register; the Undersigned Witnesses present and consenting.

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN.
LEVADOUX, Vicar-general.[33]

ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; ADHEMAR LAFRAMBOISE; JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE; FRANCOIS LAFRAMBOISE; ISIDORE LACROIX; C. J. ADHEMAR; D. L. SOLOMONTON [?]; ANGELIQUE ADHEMAR; PATRICE ADHEMAR, witness.

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[33] Michel Levadoux was appointed (1796) vicar-general of the Northwest Territory by Archbishop Carroll at Baltimore. He took charge of the church at Detroit, but made visitations to Mackinac, until recalled to Baltimore in 1801, after which he returned to France.—ED.

July 30, 1796, after granting dispensation from three bans, in the presence of [witnesses] joseph laurent Bertrand [and Felicité Pillett] widow of jean Louis la carignant, we received their mutual consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction * * * in the presence of jean ecuyer and of francois le Sieur, all of whom signed with us.[34]

LEVADOUX Vicar-general.

LAURENT BERTRAND; FELICITÉ PILLETT; JEAN ECUYER, witness; FRANCOIS LESIEUR, witness.

August 8, 1796, after granting dispensation from the three bans, to Michel Brisbois, son of age of joseph and of Marguerite Nault, of the parish of yamaska, diocese of quebek, and to domitille gautier, minor daughter of charles and madeleine chevalier, of the parish of michilimakina, authorized by Mr Her father, I received their consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction according to the rite of the roman church, there being present and consenting: Charles gaultier, father of the bride, isidore la Croix, john reeves, antoine guillory, all of whom signed with us, as did also the husband, the wife declaring that she could not sign her name when thereunto requested.

LEVADOUX, Vicar-general.

M. BRISBOIS; JEAN REEVES; C. GAULTIER; ISIDORE LACROIX; ANTOINE GUILLORY.

January 21, 1797, I, the undersigned, one of the judges of the Peace for this District, received the mutual Marriage consent of Sieur André Charlebois and of Demoiselle Josephe hamelin, In the presence of the undersigned witnesses, in the House

[34] This is the religious entry for the civil marriage performed by the justice of the peace the preceding year. Something was omitted in the original, but this is tentatively supplied in brackets.—ED.

of Mr Louis hamlin, the father, on The day and in the year Above written, at Michilimakinac.

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

A. LAFRAMBOISE; L. HAMELIN; H. BURBECK, major commanding; EBEN MASSEY, Lt. Art. & Eng;[35] A. PRIOR, Capt. 1st Regt; JNO. MICHAEL, Lieut. 1st U. S. Regt.[36]; BOUTHILLIER; CHABOILLEZ; GEO. SCHINDLER,[37] E. SOLOMON; L. BERTRAND; M. LABRUYERE; J. BTE GATIEN.

December 7, 1797, I, the Undersigned, one of the Justices of the Peace for this District, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Sieur Michel Labruyer and of Inawois Kamoquay, of

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[35] These names bear witness to the American occupation of Fort Mackinac, which occurred in the autumn of 1796. A company of artillery, and one of the 1st infantry, appear to have been detailed to take possession under these officers.

Maj. Henry Burbeck was of Massachusetts, and had been in the Revolution. In 1791 he was commissioned major of artillery and engineers, and served through the Northwest campaign with great efficiency, being much trusted by Wayne and Hamtramck. His sojourn at Mackinac seems to have been from 1796–99. In 1798 he was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and in 1802 to a colonelcy. Brevetted brigadier in 1812, he served through the War of 1812–15, and was honorably discharged, dying in 1848.

Eben Massey, likewise of the corps of artillery and engineers, entered the army from Maryland (1792) as lieutenant. Promoted to be captain in 1798, he died Sept. 3 of the following year.—ED.

[36] Capt. Abner Prior was from New York, and had served in the Revolution as surgeon's mate. In 1786 he was commissioned ensign in the regular army, lieutenant in 1790, and captain two years later. He was very efficient in Wayne's campaign, and so severely wounded at Fallen Timbers that his death was reported. On the reorganization of 1796, he entered the 1st infantry, dying in 1800.

John Michael (Mishall) of Pennsylvania enlisted as ensign in 1792. Two years later he became lieutenant, and in 1799 captain. He was honorably discharged in 1802.—ED.

[37] George Schindler seems to have come to the upper country as a soldier, and remained to enter the fur-trade; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 17, 22, 52.—ED.

the Sauteux nation, in the presence of the Undersigned witnesses, in the House of Sieur Labruyere, at Michilimakinak.

* * * ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

M. LABRUYER; G. E. YOUNG; DL. BOURASSA; C. MAILLET; L. HAMELIN; ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; T. BOUTHILLIER.

July 23, 1798, I, the Undersigned, one of the justices of the of the Peace for this District, received the mutual Marriage consent of Sieur Isidore Pelletier and of Demoiselle Sophie Solomon, In the presence of the Undersigned Witnesses, in the House of Sieur Ezechiel Solomon,[38] at Michilimakinac on The day and in the year Above written.

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

ISIDORE PELLATIER, + his mark; SOPHIA SOLOMON; EZECHIEL SOLOMON; GEORGE MELDRUM; IGNACE PETIT; CHARLES MORISON; SAML SOLOMON; WILLIAM SOLOMON; FRANCOIS LANELAULT, + his mark; SOLOMON, Junr; JAMES CLARK.

January 28, 1799, I, the Undersigned, one of the justices of the Peace of the United States, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Sieur André La Chaine and of Dame Suzanne Hirebour In the presence of the Undersigned witnesses, at Makinac, in the House of the said Dame Hirebour. * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

ANDRE LACHAINE, + his mark; SUZANNE HIREBUOR, + her mark; ALEXIS LAFRAMBOISE; CHARLES MAILLET; DAVID MITCHELL; ADHEMAR; A. LAFRAMBOISE.

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[38] For this person see *ante*, p. 254, note 50. His descendants removed to Drummond Island, and later to Penetanguishine on Georgian Bay; see interview with grandson in Ontario Hist. Soc. *Records*, iii, pp. 127–129.—ED.

May 16, 1799, I the Undersigned, one of the justices of the Peace of the United States, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Sieur charles Maillet and of Demoiselle Isabelle McDonald, In the presence of the Undersigned witnesses at McKinac In the house of Sieur John McDonald[39] * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

CHARLES MAILLET; ISABELLA MCDONALD; ALEXIS LAFRAMBOIS; H. BURBECK; JNO. MICHAEL; MARGARET MICHAEL; JOHN REID; JOHN MCDONALD; ELIZABETH MCDONALD.

July 22, 1799, after three publications of bans of marriage between Pierre La croix, son of age of Pierre La croix and of Therese La france, a native of Quebec now residing in this Parish, of the one part; and Marie McGulpin, minor daughter of Patrick McGulpin and Madeleine Crequi, a native of the Parish of Ste Anne du Detroit and now residing in this parish, of the other part—no impediment having been discovered—We, the Undersigned, Priest, received their mutual marriage consent * * * in the presence of Patrick McGulpin, father of the bride, of Thomas Richardson, of jean baptiste La Borde, of jean baptiste Gatien, who signed with us on the day and in the year above written.

GABRIEL RICHARD.[40]

JN BTE GATIEN; PIERRE LACROIX, + his mark; MARIE MCGULPIN, + her mark; JEAN BAPTISTE LA BORDE; PATT. MCGULPIN.

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[39] John McDonald was a British soldier, who was assistant barrack-master under the last English commandant. After the troops retired to St. Joseph's Island, he seems to have remained at Mackinac.—ED.

[40] Father Gabriel Richard has been called "the apostle of Michigan." Born in Saintes, the ancient capital of the Santones, France (1761), he was educated at Angers, and consecrated to the priesthood in Paris (1791). A member of the Sulpician order, the hostilities of the French Revolution drove him into exile. In 1792 he came to Baltimore, and was sent to minister to the French of the Illinois. He served there for six years, traveling in a wide circuit from Ste. Geneviève to Cahokia.

August 5, 1799, after one publication of bans, with dispensation from the two others, between jacques Vasseur, son of jacques Vasseur and of Madeleine Gatien, a native of Montreal, of the one part; and Madeleine of the Outawas Nation, baptized the same day, there being no opposition whatsoever thereto, We, the Undersigned, priest, received their mutual consent and gave them the nuptial benediction and legitimized five children whom they acknowledged, namely: Marie Louise, about eleven years old; jacques, about nine and a half years old; Louis, about eight years old; Genevieve, about seven years old; and joseph, born on the eighth of the month of August 1797. The whole in the presence of Pierre Queri, of Augustin Hamelin and of others who signed with us.

GABRIEL RICHARD, priest.

P. THIERRY, witness; MADELAINE, + her mark; AUGUST HAMELIN; JAC VASSEUR.

January 19, 1800, I, the Undersigned, one of the Justices of the Peace of the United States, received The mutual Marriage consent of Louis hamelin and of Marie Louise of the Sauteux

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In 1798 he was appointed to Detroit, arriving there in June of that year. The following year he took a voyage to Mackinac, where he remained for three months, bringing the voyageurs and Christian Indians to a remembrance of their religious duties. His vast parish extended from Detroit to Sault Ste. Marie and Prairie du Chien. He does not appear to have visited Wisconsin until 1820. Father Richard being an American, was during the War of 1812-15 arrested and confined by the British at Sandwich. In 1823 he was elected territorial delegate from Michigan to the United States House of Representatives, being the first priest to sit therein. Two years later, however, he failed of re-election. He was active in educational movements, opening schools in Detroit and elsewhere, and aiding in the foundation of the University of Michigan. The first printing press set up in Detroit (1807) was ordered by Father Richard. Indefatigable in good works, he cared for the sick and dying during the cholera epidemic, only to fall himself a victim to the disease (Sept. 13, 1832).—ED.

nation, In the presence of the Undersigned witnesses, at McKinac on the day and in the year aforesaid.

ADHEMAR ST. MARTIN J. P.

ALEXIS LAFRAMBOIS; L HAMELIN; GENEVIEVE PLAISEÉ; J. GIASSON.

April 20, 1800, I, the undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received The mutual Marriage consent of Jacques Chauvin and of angelique of the Sauteux nation, In the presence of the Undersigned witnesses. The parties having declared that they could not sign their names, they made their usual mark. * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

JACQUES CHAUVIN, + his mark; ANGELIQUE, + her mark; MAD^M MITCHELL, + her mark; D. MITCHELL; J. GIASSON; P. G. COTTÉ; CHARLES MAILLET.

July 28, 1800, in the afternoon, I, the Undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received the Mutual Marriage Consent of André Sarrere de Lavictoire and of Ersule Mercier. * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

ANDRÉ SARREZ; ERSULE MERCIER, + her mark; BENJAMIN LYON; GEORGE HENGELL, witness; JAC. VASSEUR.

December 30, 1800, in the afternoon, I, the undersigned, one of the justices of the Peace of the United States, received the mutual Marriage consent of Sieur Gautier Caron and of Louise Le Vasseur * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

CHARLES MAILLET; D. MITCHELL; JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE; J. GIASSSON; P. THIERRY; JOSEPH VAILLEZ.

January 25, 1801, in the afternoon, I the Undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received The mutual Marriage Consent of françois Courtemanche and of Magdelaine Waters * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

D. MITCHELL; F. COURTEMANCHE; C. MAILLET; MAGDELAINE WATERS, + her mark; ANT. DUPRÉ, fils; J. GIASSON; ANGELIQUE ADHEMAR; WILL^M HENRY;[41] NANCY COWEN.

April 6, 1801, in the afternoon, I the Undersigned, one of the justices of the Peace of the United States, received The mutual Marriage consent of Jean Baptiste Maillet and marie Joseph Taillefer * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

CHARLES MAILLET; J. B^TE MAILLET, + his mark; M. JOSEPHE TAILLEFER, + her mark; JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE; J. GIASSON; JOSEPH TAILLEFER, + his mark.

October 18, 1801, in the afternoon, I, the undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received the mutual Marriage Consent of Stephen G. Hogan and marie Vaillancour * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

August 17, 1802, in the afternoon, I the Undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received The mu-

[41] William Henry (1783–1864) was a son of Alexander Henry, the explorer. He entered the North West Company in 1801 as clerk; this signature was thus made during his first winter in the fur-trade. He continued in the West until 1821, commanding at one time (1816) a post in the Willamette valley, Oregon. After retirement, he resided in Montreal, and later near Toronto. See Bain (ed.), *Alexander Henry's Travels*, pp. xxviii-xxx, for a more extended notice with portrait.—ED.

tual Marriage consent of guillaume varin and Marguerite Bourassa * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

February 18, 1804, I the undersigned, one of the justices of the peace of the United States, received The mutual Marriage Consent of Charles Marly and of marie Joseph Vaillancourt * * *

ADHEMAR ST MARTIN J. P.

JOSEF VAILLAN COUR; STEPHEN G. HOGAN; MICHEL DOUSMAN;[42] PATT M. GULPIN.

June 30, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at michilimakina after publication of two bans of marriage from the pulpit during the parochial mass (dispensation from the third Ban having been granted) between jean Baptiste maiot, son of René maiot and of jennette La magdelaine, of the one part; and marie Taillefer, daughter of Joseph taillefer and of josette, a Sauteuse, of the other part, without any canonical impediment having come to our knowledge—received their mutual marriage consent * * * in the presence of René nadau, augustin cadot, joseph gautier dit Caron, and joseph Champeau, who signed with us.

J. DILHET,[43] miss. priest.

RENE NADEAU; JOSEPH TAILLFER, + his mark; AUGUSTIN CADOE, + his mark; J. B. AMIOT, + his mark; JOSEPH GAUTIER, + his mark; MARIE TAILLEFER, + her mark; JOSEPH CHAMPEAU, + his mark.

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[42] Michael Dousman was born in Pennsylvania, and appears to have come to Mackinac soon after American occupation. He became one of the most prominent and richest citizens of the island. At the outbreak of the War of 1812–15, he was captured by the British, being released on an errand to save the women and children of the fort. He was president of the village, 1824–25; and probate judge, 1833–40. His son Hercules was a well-known Prairie du Chien fur-trader.—ED.

[43] Jean Dilhet was a Sulpician priest, who came to the United States

July 1, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at Michilimakina—after three publications of Bans on three consecutive Sundays, from the pulpit during the parochial mass, between joseph gautier dit Caron, son of Nicolas Gauthier and of Marie champeau, of the one part; and Louise vasseur, daughter of jacques vasseur and of Magdelaine ouskoin, of the other part; without any canonical impediment coming to our knowledge—received their mutual Marriage consent * * * in the presence of pierre thyerri, pierre Lacroix, jacques vasseur, and jean Baptiste maiot, all of whom signed with us.

J. DILHET, missionary priest.

JACQUES VASSEUR; JOSEPH GAUTHIER, + his mark; PIERRE LACROIX, + his mark; J. B. MAIOT, + his mark; LOUISE VASSEUR, + her mark.

July 11, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at michilimakina—after dispensation from three bans between joseph laframboise, son of jean Baptiste la framboise and of marguerite La Bissoniere, deceased, of the one part, and marguerite magdelaine marcot,[44] daughter of jean Baptiste marcot and of marie neskesh, of the other part—received their mutual marriage consent * * * in the presence of Michel Lacroix, of jean Baptiste lemoine, of Charles Chandonnet, and of antoine guillory who signed with us.

J. DILHET, missionary priest.

J. BTE LEMOINE; JOSEPH LAFRAMBOISE; MAGDELAINE MARCOT, + her mark; M LACROIX; ANTOINE GUILLORY; C. CHANDONNETT.

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after the Revolution. In 1804 he was sent as assistant to Father Richard at Detroit, and had charge of the remote missions. This visit of 1804 was doubtless the only one he made to Mackinac. In 1807 he was recalled to Baltimore, and sent thence to Pennsylvania.—ED.

[44] Joseph Laframboise was killed in 1809 near Grand River, Mich., by an Indian to whom he refused to give liquor. His wife conducted the fur-trade for many succeeding years, and was a noted Mackinac resident. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 38-43.—ED.

July 12, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at Michilimakina—after granting dispensation from three Bans between George Schindler, son of jean jonas Schindler and of Genevieve maranda, of the one part; and therese Marcot, daughter of jean Baptiste Marcot and of marie nesketh Sarrasin, deceased; The husband not a catholic but promising to bring up his children in the Roman catholic religion; The wife being a Catholic and preparing to make her first Communion on the day after tomorrow—received their mutual Marriage consent * * * in virtue of the power Received from Monseigneur the Bishop of the United States, jean Carol;[45] in the presence of joseph Laframboise and Louis Chevalier, of the one part; and of Charles Chandonnet and antoine guillory of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

J. Dilhet, missionary priest.

Joseph Laframboise; Antoine Guillory; Geo. Schindler; Louis Chevalier, + his mark; therese Marcot, + her mark; C. Chandonnett.

July 16, 1804, we the Undersigned priest, missionary at michilimakinac—after the publication of three Bans from the pulpit during the parochial mass on three consecutive Sundays, between jacques jauvan, son of Sieur jacques jauvan, and of françoise L'accuyar, of the one part; and angelique Roy, daughter of joseph Roy and marguerite, a Sauteur, without any canonical impediment having come to our knowledge—received their mutual marriage consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction, in the presence of pierre Lacroix and of Simeon Cham-

[45] John Carroll (1735–1815) was a native of Maryland and educated in France (1753–59), in which latter year he was ordained. Returning to Maryland in 1774 he was a patriot during the Revolution, being sent (1776) by Congress as commissioner to Canada. In 1790 he was ordained first Roman Catholic bishop of the United States, being chosen archbishop in 1808.—Ed.

pagne, of the one part; of jean Baptiste maranda and André Sarrez, of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

DILHET, priest.

ANDRÉ SARREZ; JACQUES JAUVAN, + his mark; SIMEON CHAMPAGNE, + his mark; PIERRE LACROIX, + his mark; ANGELIQUE ROI, + her mark.

On the same day and in the same year, after publication of two bans and with dispensation from the third, between françois grignon, son of joseph grignon and of amable fremine, of the one part; and angelique gravelle, daughter of joseph gravelle and of josephe Raisin, of the other part; * * * we gave them the nuptial Benediction in the presence of Simeon Champagne and Charles Marly, of the one part; and of jean Baptiste maranda and André Sarrez, of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

DILHET, priest.

SIMEON CHAMPAGNE, + his mark; FRANCOIS GRIGNON, + his mark; CHARLES MARLEY, + his mark; ANGELIQUE GRAVELLE, + her mark.

On the same day and in the same year, after publication of two bans from the pulpit during the parochial mass, with dispensation from the third, between Charles Chandonnet, son of André Chandonnet and of Charlotte fisher, of the one part; and Charlotte marcot, daughter of jean Baptiste marcot and marie neskesh, of the other part; * * * we gave them the nuptial benediction in the presence of jean Baptiste Lemoine and Michel Lacroix, of the one part; and of joseph St jean and antoine guillory of the other part, all of whom signed.

J. DILHET, priest.

J. B^TE LEMOINE; ANTOINE GUILLERY; M. LACROIX; CHANDONNETT.

July 16, 1804, we the Undersigned priest at Michilimakina, after publication of two bans, with dispensation from the third, from the pulpit during the parochial mass, between André La Chêsne, son of Sieur jean Baptiste La Chêsne and magdalaine Lyon, of the one part; and Susanne irbour, widow, daughter of Sieur pierre irbour and of Susanne Moreau, of the other part; * * * we gave them the nuptial Benediction in the presence of andré Sarrere and joseph Cousineau of the one part; and of pierre thyerri and pierre Lacroix, of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

J. Dilhet.

P. thierri; André Lachaine, + his mark; joseph Cousineau, + his mark; Susanne erbour, + her mark; Pierre Lacroix, + his mark; André Sarrez, witness.

On the same day and in the same year, we the undersigned priest, missionary at Michilimikina, after publication of two bans, with dispensation from the last, between jean Baptiste Bertrand, son of Laurent Bertrand and of therese duvignon, of the one part; and marguerite, daughter of ouigouisein (petit garcon) and of chagochioueckoe, Sauteux, of the other part; * * * gave them the nuptial Benediction, in the presence of joseph Caron and francois generoux, of the one part; and Charles Marley and joseph Villancourt, of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

J. Dilhet, priest.

joseph vaillancour; Jean Bapt. Bertrand; Charles Marly, + his mark; marguerite ougouiseau, + her mark; joseph Caron, + his mark; francois genereaux, + his mark.

On the same day and in the same year, we the undersigned priest, missionary at michilimakina, after one publication of bans, with dispensation from the two others, at the parochial

mass, between Charles Marly, son of Luc Marly and of jeanne Madusque, of the one part; and joseph Vaillancourt, daughter of joseph Vaillancourt and of Marie Bourgoi, of the other part; * * * gave them the nuptial Benediction in the presence of joseph vaillancour and andre La Chaine, of the one part; and of Simeon Champagne and pierre La Croix, of the other part, all of whom signed with us. J. DILHET, priest.

SIMON CHAMPAGNE, + his mark; CHARLES MARLY, + his mark; PIERRE LACROIX, + his mark; JOSEPH VAILLANCOURT, + his mark; ANDRÉ LA CHAINE, + his mark; JOSEPH VAILLANCOURT, witness.

July 16, 1804, we the undersigned missionary priest, without publication of bans, through dispensation; between paul gina, son of paul gina and josette Rivard, of the one part; and josette, a woman Savage of a nation unknown; * * * received their mutual consent in the presence of jean Baptiste Caron and Charles Chandonnet, of the one part; and joseph gery and jean Baptiste chandonnet, of the other part, who signed with us.

J. DILHET, priest.

J. B^T CARON; PAUL GINA, + his mark; C. CHADONNET; JOSETTE SAUTEUSE; JOSEPH GERY; J. B. CHANDONNET.

July 17, 1804, we the undersigned priest, missionary at michilimakina—without publication of bans, through lawful dispensation, between guillaume Varin, son of jean Baptiste Varin and josette denvion, of the one part; and marguerite Bourassa, daughter of Daniel Bourassa and marguerite Bertrand, of the other part; * * * gave them the nuptial Benediction according to the rite of the holy Roman Church, our mother, in the presence of toussaint pothier and germain Pothier, of the one part; and of hubert Lacroix and Daniel Bourassa, of the other part, all of whom signed with us.

J. DILHET, priest.

T. POTHIER; G. POTHIER; H. LACROIX; DAN. BOURASSA, fils.

August 11, 1821, William McGulpin, son of age of patrick McGulpin, and Madeleine Bourassa, daughter of age of Daniel Bourassa and of Marguerite Bertrand, both residents of this parish, having shown us a certificate from a justice of the peace, Samuel Abbot,[46] by which it appears that they contracted marriage on August 21, 1815, and asked us to validate their marriage before the church. Accordingly on the same day and in the year aforesaid, we received their mutual marriage consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction in accordance with the ceremonies of the Roman Church, in the presence of Eloy Bourassa, Alexandre Bourassa, J. B. Bourassa, and Mathew McGulpin, who signed with us. And the said parties acknowledged as their legitimate children: Marguerite, born July 27, 1816; Pelagie, born November 4, 1818; and Marie, born on April 1, 1821 (the two former having been baptized by Monsieur Joseph Crevier, missionary priest, September 9, 1818). In testimony whereof, the following have signed:

Gabriel Richard, parish priest of Ste Anne du Detroit.

W. McGulpin; Alexandre Bourassa; Madme Bourassa, + her mark.

August 3, 1821, John Dousman, son of age of John Dousman and of Catherine Bankman, a native of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania; and Rosalie La Borde,[47] daughter of Gabriel La Borde and Marguerite Chevalier, a native of this parish, both residing therein; having shown us a certificate of Samuel Abbott, a justice of the peace, from which it appeared that they contracted marriage on March 15, 1808, and asked us to validate their marriage before the church. Accordingly on the same

[46] Samuel Abbott was in Mackinac before 1810, when he was made collector of customs. He was later magistrate, notary public, and president of the village. For many years he was Mackinac agent of the American Fur Company. He died some time before 1859.—Ed.

[47] These people became prominent settlers of Green Bay, where Mrs. Rosalie Dousman conducted one of the earliest mission schools; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, xiii, xiv, indexes.—Ed.

day and in the year aforesaid, we received their mutual marriage consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction in Accordance with the ceremonies of the Roman Church, in the presence of Joseph Vaillancourt and of Antoine Deschamps, who signed with us. And the said parties acknowledged as their legitimate children: Jean, born June 17, 1812; Marie Anne, born August 5, 1815; John Pierre Dousman, born Ocotober 3, 1816; Harriet Dousman, born December 16, 1818; George Smith, born September 21, 1820, whose Baptismal certificate was made out on August 3, 1821. * * *

GABRIEL RICHARD, priest.

JOHN DOUSMAN; ROSALIE DOUSMAN.

August, 3, 1821, François Paget and Celeste Reed, both residing in this parish, having shown us a certificate from Samuel Abbot, justice of the peace, from which it appeared to us that they contracted marriage on July 31, 1817, and asked to have their marriage validated before the Church. Accordingly, we received their mutual marriage consent and gave them the nuptial Benediction in Accordance with the ceremonies of the Roman church in the presence of Pierre Caune and Louis Genereux. And the said parties acknowledged as their legitimate child Alexis, born on June 1, 1819. In testimony whereof the parties have signed.

GABRIEL RICHARD, priest.

PIERRE CAUNE; FRANCOIS PAGET.

Errata

P. 95, third line from bottom, read p. 456, not p. 452.

P. 133, fifth line from bottom, read La Vérendrye, not Le Vérendrye.

P. 212, second line from bottom, read Ouiatanon, not Quiatanon.

P. 241, thirteenth line from bottom, read Pittsburgh treaty of 1775, not 1773.

P. 306, eleventh line from bottom, read Auguste Chouteau, not Pierre.

P. 485, nineteenth line from top, read Bourassa Langlade, not Bourassa; Langlade.

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